E, 1938 PRICE 15c

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

L. XV No. 6

TWO YEARS OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE
By ROSA MICHEL

MARXISM AND AUSTRIAN INDEPENDENCE
By PETER WIDEN

THE STRUGGLE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN ENGLAND
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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol. XV JUNE, 1938 No. 6

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WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC., P. O. BOX 148, STATION D, NEW YORK CITY
Subscription price: one year $1.75; six months 90 cents. Single copies 15 cents.
209 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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eaction Cries Out—the Blow Struck Home

HE May Day Manifesto of the Communist International and the article t Comrade Dimitroff published on y First have furnished the internaal working class with great perspecs of struggle. The clear strategic ding principles, which facilitate the uggle of the peoples against war and cism, have caused disquietude in the cles of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

t was not only the press of the Third ch that attacked the May Day mani- to of the Communist International; newspapers of French and British reion also made themselves excitedly rd. The mysterious clique behind the ndon *Times*, the clique to which Chamlain and Halifax belong, is watching h profound dissatisfaction the grow- opposition to the ruinous policy of Conservative government. It is highindignant because the Spanish people uses to commit suicide for the sake the British "gentlemen's agreement," ause the Chinese people is so tactless not to wait until Britain and Japan e agreed on the division of the spoils, strongly resists the enemy, and bese the Czechoslovakian people is not ntly ready to pay with its indepence for England's tricky dealings.

his stubbornness with which the people m the right of continuing to live and uggle without the blessings and antment of the British empire infuriates British ruling class. It suspects Bolvism and the Soviet Union behind this tinacy. That is why the *Times* opened rge-scale campaign of slander against Communist International with two icles that it published on May 3. The idest lies are repeated:

Though 'fascism' was held up as the h-enemy, the chief subversive activity s prescribed for the 'democratic' coun- s. . . .

"France is regarded in Moscow as the most friendly nation. This friendship makes her the more vulnerable; the closer the friendship, the better the opportunity for disintegrative attack."

For the present we see the disintegration merely in the brain of the honorable *Times* editor. We Communists are not so foolish as to disintegrate our friends; we aim rather to strengthen them. In France and everywhere else it is the aim of Communist policy to unite the masses of the people—against the fascist warmongers and their reactionary accomplices. Our French comrades are waging a passionate struggle against all those who are sowing disintegration in the French people, against the traitors bought by Hitler, the Cagoulards, de la Rocque, Doriot, and the whole gang that is undermining France with German money and German arms and is preparing a *coup d'état* against the republic. Our French comrades are also waging a struggle against the insidious clique whose organ is the *Times*, against those British Conservatives who are selling out France's allies to Hitler and are helping German fascism to win a war base against France in Spain.

British politicians once coined the idea of "fair play," but the *Times* has learned new rules of play in the training school of the Goebbels press. Its articles against the Communist International bear the stamp "Made in Germany." We read for instance: "With Paris as its *point d'appui*, the Comintern engineered the outbreak of civil war in Spain."

According to this picture, Generals Sanjurjo, Franco, and Mola, who painstakingly prepared for the rebellion and the war with the aid of German and Italian fascists, were agents of the Comintern. The *Times* apparently is of the opinion that it is quite proper for the

Conservative British government to send troops against discontented Hindus and Arabs, but that it is "incitement to civil war" for the lawful Spanish government to take steps against rebellious traitors. This bold distortion of facts was too much even for a Conservative reader of the *Times*. In a letter of this Conservative reader, published in the *Times* on May 10, the Communist International is also attacked, but the letter-writer is compelled to say the following:

"In Spain," he writes, "the Comintern follows the anti-fascist rather than the positive revolutionary wing of its policy."

We do not ask that a Conservative reader of the *Times* realize that the struggle against fascism is positive revolutionary policy, but its Conservative readers have a right to demand that the *Times* at least not distort the facts.

What, for instance, should we think of the following "reporting"?

"In China the united front has been firmly laid, it is claimed ostensibly, to combat Japanese aggression. Comintern spokesmen declare that the war in China is pouring water on their mill."

It would be hard for the *Times* to give its readers the names of these "Comintern spokesmen," for these "spokesmen" exist only in the filthy imagination of the fascist provocateurs who belong to the so-called "Anti-Comintern." We do not want to assume that the "gentlemen's agreement" between the Chamberlain government and Italian fascism also includes the support of the "Anti-Comintern." Yet the *Times* interprets the "gentlemen's agreement" thus.

Moreover, what disintegration of the brain is necessary, in the light of the heroic and self-sacrificing struggles of the Chinese Communists against the Japanese aggressors, to assert mysteriously that "it is only claimed ostensibly" that the Chinese united front was established against Japanese aggression. Apparently the heroes of the Eighth Route Army are fighting and dying only "ostensibly." Apparently they are waging war against the Japanese bandits only "ostensibly"; The *Times* will some day doubtless print still more lies regarding what they are doing "ostensibly."

On May 9 the *Matin*, the newspaper of the most reactionary circles of the French bourgeoisie, attacked Comrade Dimitroff's article in bold-faced type but with very thin arguments. The paper declares that Dimitroff is making fun of the whole world when he says that economic sanctions can prevent war. It states that he wants to bring about a general war under the pretext of preventing a partial war. This slander is as insolent as it is stupid. The gentlemen of the *Matin* know quite well that not even economic sanctions against Franco were necessary to end the civil war in Spain quickly. A firm attitude on the part of France and the regular sale of arms to the lawful government would have enabled the Spanish government to liquidate the rebellion in a short time.

The gentlemen of the *Matin* know quite well that economic sanctions against Italy would have sufficed to stop the war in Ethiopia, and that, what is more, Mussolini would never have begun the war without Laval's aid and protection. The gentlemen of the *Matin* know quite well that no power defends peace so consistently as does the Soviet Union, and that the Communist International tirelessly opposes all those who hope for the overthrow of fascism only through a war. If they still accuse the Communist International of inciting to war, they do so only to distract the attention of the French people from the fascist warmongers and to lull its vigilance against the agents of Hitler and Mussolini.

French and British reaction's campaign of slander against the May Day manifesto of the Communist International and Comrade Dimitroff's article is another proof of the fact that the masses of the people are beginning to listen more and more to the voice of the Communist International. When reaction cries out, the blow is struck home, and that is as it ought to be. The ranters will not succeed in drowning out the clear and powerful voice of the Communist International.

Except for One State

"EXCEPT for one state," China's delegates to the League of Nations told the members of the League Council assembled for their 101st meeting, "except for one state, the members of the League of Nations have done very little to support China in its struggle against aggression, in the interests of international law and order." Everyone knew what state it was, which also differs from all the other states in that it always supports the victim of aggression against the aggressor, does not sign treaties and agreements in order to ignore them, and gives the world an example of how the interests of international law and order are defended. It is the Soviet Union, today still the mighty exception, which takes a stand for new rules of freedom and peace in relations between men and peoples.

The 101st meeting of the Council of the League of Nations has filled the adherents of the League with new confidence. The reactionary British government had intended this meeting to be like a sickroom. Peace, sick and brought to the brink of the grave of criminally wrong treatment, was to receive new paralyzing injections. Solemn and meaningless words of comfort were to deceive the peoples of the world regarding the tragic gravity of the situation. The British delegation came to Geneva to collect congratulations for the "gentlemen's agreement" with Italian fascism, to drown out the voice of the Spanish people, to ignore Japanese militarism's predatory war against China, and to put through the tacit recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia.

But British reaction's plan was foiled to a considerable extent. The mighty voice of truth broke through the mufflers of diplomatic intrigue. The policy of Chamberlain and Halifax was brought out into daylight, arousing not only the loathing of the peoples of the world, but also the obvious aversion of most of the members of the Council. The reactionary British government's fascist protegés were publicly branded; the aggressors were not treated as gentlemen, but as robbers; and the charges of the Spanish, Chinese, and Ethiopian delegations were not trampled underfoot by diplomatic gumshoes. The League of Nations has unequivocally indicated that its feelings are by no means identical with those of the British Empire.

At the beginning of the session Lord Halifax rose to report on the "gentlemen's agreement" with Italian fascism. His speech was dripping with the oil of peace (not to be confused with the oil in which the British imperialists soak their policy, if not their speeches). He unctuously declared the agreement proves "that international conflicts can be solved on the basis of reason and good will," and that it will "have a favorable effect upon the general feeling of security, not only in Europe, but in the whole world as well."

The representatives of Rumania and Poland hastened to congratulate the noble lord, while the delegates from other countries were cool and reserved. When, despite all intrigues, the Negus of Ethiopia rose to speak and described the suffering and the struggle of his people, and Alvarez del Vayo, the Spanish delegate, pointed out that Italian fascism was celebrating the "gentlemen's agreement" by sending new contingents of troops to Spain, the atmosphere became uncomfortable for Lord Halifax. It became even more uncomfortable when Alvarez del Vayo spoke of the circles "whose loyalty to the principles

of the League of Nations is confined to high-flown statements of international affairs," and when he denounced the "deserters from democracy," who "were legalizing fascist intervention in Spain by their agreements with the aggressors."

The speech of Wellington Koo, the Chinese delegate, also shattered the phrases of the Conservative peace hypocrites, whose policy does not give rise to a "general feeling of security," but to a general feeling of insecurity. Wellington Koo pointed out that the decisions of the October, 1937, Assembly of the League of Nations and of the February, 1938, meeting of the League Council, which assured China of aid, had not been complied with, and that the League members, *with the exception of one state,* were not supporting China in its struggle against the predatory aggressor.

Everyone knew who was meant when he spoke with bitter irony of the "realism" which emphasizes "facts instead of principles," thus aiding the fascist warmongers, whose criminal attacks are unfortunately facts. Lord Halifax had to admit that, except for his Polish and Rumanian satellites, no one was ready to recognize the "*realpolitik*" of the reactionary British government as a "contribution to the cause of universal peace." Only the French Foreign Minister, Bonnet, as the third party, played a role that was not very glorious nor much calculated to raise France's prestige.

In spite of all their efforts the British lords could not prevent Alvarez del Vayo from introducing a resolution that condemned the shameful policy of "non-intervention" in the sharpest terms, nor prevent the Council members from voting on this resolution. Munters, the Latvian delegate who presided, tried to block the discussion and the vote with more perseverance than skill; his efforts remained in vain. Lord Halifax was compelled to intervene himself. Annoyance made him incautious, and his angry statement that the resolution was contrary to the whole policy of his government merely accentuated the tension. New Zealand's delegate, who represents the British Dominions in the League Council, declared that his government fully supported the Spanish delegate's demands. But it was mainly the Soviet Union's delegate, Comrade Litvinov, who supported the demands of China and Spain with the greatest determination and on behalf of the Soviet state defended the victims of aggression against the aggressors.

The vote on the resolution completed the discomfiture of the Chamberlain government. Only the British, French, Polish and Rumanian delegates voted against the resolution, with nine Council members, the delegates from Belgium, Bolivia, China, New Zealand, Sweden, Ecuador, Iran, Peru, and Latvia, abstaining, while the delegates from Spain and the Soviet Union voted for it. The Chinese and New Zealand delegates gave as the reason for their abstention the fact that they had not had an opportunity to consult their governments.

The results of the 101st meeting of the Council of the League of Nations did not satisfy the peoples' desires, but still less did it meet the expectations of the fascist warmongers and their reactionary accomplices. The League has demonstrated its vitality in spite of all diplomatic intrigue. The great majority of the states represented in the League is neither inclined to bow silently to the plans of British reaction, nor is it willing to transform the League into a political home for the aged, the inmates of which occupy themselves with the harmful effects of alcohol upon infants and similar temperate problems. To be sure, the League is still far from actually fulfilling its great tasks and effectively defending peoples' rights and the peace of the world against political bandits and firebugs, but the majority of its members recognizes these tasks and would be willing to realize the idea of collective security together with the democratic great powers.

The 101st meeting of the Council of the League has shown that, in spite of the war-filled atmosphere, we are no

longer living in the world of 1914. The world owes it principally to the great state of socialism, the Soviet Union, that it is harder today to deceive the peoples of the world, to turn free countries into colonies, and to start a world war in the interests of finance capital. The fact that there exists in the midst of the capitalist states this mighty exception, this great state which always supports the victim against the aggressors and consistently defends peace against the warmongers, has fundamentally changed the world and also impressed a new stamp upon the League of Nations.

The presence of this state in the League was the greatest aid to the victims of aggression, and the existence of this state encourages the peoples of the world to offer increasing resistance to the warmongers and their accomplices. In the light of this fact it is the welcome duty of all sincere friends of peace to contribute to the strengthening of the League and to make every effort to make the cause of collective security a reality.

The great *exception* of resolute support of the victim against the aggressor and the obstinate and untiring defense of peace against the warmongers must become the *rule* among peoples and states.

In the Shadow of Historical Forgery

AFTER the conquest of Austria the masters of the Third Reich are arming to attack Czechoslovakia. By way of propagandistic preparation for their assault they are telling the public opinion of the world that the "national liberation" of the Sudeten Germans is involved. The reactionary cricles of the British Conservatives listen gladly to the fairy-tale of the good wolf who breaks into the farmer's barnyard solely out of love for the wolfhound. There are Conservative papers in England, such as the *Daily Telegraph*, that like to set before their readers the fable that the Treaty of Versailles tore the Sudeten Germans away from the German Reich—*though the Sudeten Germans never belonged to the German Reich, but rather to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.* Hitler, who subjugated the German people, is clothing his imperialist plans in the colors of a fantastic German national state. He arrogates to himself the right of including all the German minorities within the All-German concentration camp. Where there are no German minorities, as in Spain, he strikes the pose of the divinely sent crusader against Bolshevism, in order to subject free peoples to German arms.

It is plain to all who are not blind to Hitler's policy that the "Anschluss" of the Sudeten Germans is, for the masters of the Third Reich, nothing but the conquest of all of Czechoslovakia. They do not mince matters; while they still try to maintain appearances outside the German borders in order to make it easier for their reactionary accomplices to deceive Europe, they talk openly of their true plans in Berlin and Vienna. Especially in the days preceding May First did the truth drip from their jowls. They evidently thought they already had their prey in their teeth. Their angry growling after the First of May revealed that they were compelled to change their plans and to moderate their tempo a bit.

During this period before May First, on April 25, the Vienna *Reichspost* published an editorial that gave the historical "justification," so to speak, for the planned seizure of Czechoslovakia. This article is full of threats against Czechoslovakia. It declares that:

"The hour of reckoning has come. . . . The national united state of Czechoslovakia was maintained for scarcely twenty years with all the resources of force. Czechoslovakia will not live to see its twenty-first year as a national united state."

That, in plain language, is a declaration of war. But even more significant than these impudent threats are the so-called historical considerations discussed in the editorial. It is set forth in detail that Bohemia was a part of the German Reich ever since 929, and was a part of the German Confederation from 1806 to 1866, and that therefore Germany has a historical claim to Czechoslovakia.

Here we are confronted with a truly brazen falsification of history. The German Reich has been in existence since 1871. Prior to that time there was, up to 1806, a so-called "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" and, since 1806, a "German Confederation." Bohemia was not part of the German Confederation, but a part of Austria. It was Austria, not Bohemia, that was a member of the German Confederation. This much to fix the historical facts.

Why are the Nazis fabricating their brazen falsification of history? They are doing it to create wild romantic chauvinism in the German people and to con-

struct for German imperialism a historical "claim" to all the territories of the former "Holy Roman Empire." Not only did Bohemia belong to the loose structure of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation"; so did Northern Italy, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, Holland, a part of Poland, and a part of the Baltic region. The German Reich can claim all these countries by the same right that it claims Bohemia. Let there be no doubt about it: it *will* claim all these countries. The German maps, on which not only the foregoing countries, but Hungary and parts of Jugoslavia and Rumania as well, are sketched in as provinces of "Greater Germany," illustrate the plans of German imperialism.

"Everything that was ever subject to German princes must belong to Germany again"—that is the formula of the adventurous chauvinism which Hitler is breeding, that is the "historical-romantic" mask, so to speak, for the plans of the brown-shirted gang of robbers.

We could turn the tables, to be sure, and remind the Nazis of a few historical facts. Prussia was for a long time a vassal state of Poland; the Prussian princes placed themselves under Polish sovereignty voluntarily, because they expected it to be to their advantage. Hence Poland could lay historical claim to Prussia. For a long time Pomerania was a dependency of the Swedish kings, which is all the more telling in that the Nazis exalt the conqueror of Pomerania, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, as the "savior and liberator" of Germany. Hence Sweden could lay historical claim to Pomerania. Not only Bohemia, but Hungary, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and a part of the Adriatic coast were dependencies of the Czech King Ottokar II, while three Kings of Bohemia were Emperors of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Hence Czechoslovakia could lay historical claim to these areas. The Nazis cite the conquest of Bohemia in 929—why should we not go back still another century? Why should France not cite the empire of Charlemagne and under this legal title lay claim to half of Europe? France would not even have to go back so far: there was the empire of Napoleon, before whom the German princes bowed and scraped and from whose hands they received favors and funds. As we see, all the historical "claims" of the Third Reich face no less justified "claims." And a romantic chauvinism of the French, the Italians, the Austrians, the Poles, the Swedes, the Turks, and others might rise up to confront the romantic chauvinism of the Germans.

It is obvious that the Third Reich has no historical "claim" to Austria, or to Bohemia, Holand, Belgium, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, or Italy. And if the *Reichspost* tries to play off German history against the Czechs, the Czechs can play off their history against the Germans just as well. Their great Hus made a very great contribution to the evolution of European freedom, in contrast to the German emperors whom the *Reichspost* cites. And when the *Reichspost* has the impudence to assert that the Czech state arose "by means of treason" it does not realize how much it is mocking itself. Let the Nazis look at their Seyss-Inquart and their Henlein if they want to see treason personified. Let them study a little German history, and Prussian history most of all, to learn of the hundredfold treason of German princes, from the bartering away of Alsace-Lorraine to Frederick the "Great's" predatory wars against the Reich. The Czechs won their freedom in struggle against the Hapsburgs—and, strange to say, in this one case the Nazis consider the struggle against the Hapsburgs not praiseworthy but damnable.

All these Nazi falsifications of history are intended to mislead public opinion throughout the world and to create an artificial smokescreen behind which the Third Reich is preparing for its war of plunder against Czechoslovakia. Hence it is time to mobilize historical truth against the Nazis' historical lies.

Hitler in Rome

HITLER made his entrance into Rome through theatrically illuminated streets. Upon his return Berlin, at Goering's order, received him with flaming sheaves and spectacular fireworks. The period between his arrival in Rome and his return home was likewise devoted to setting fires, to fomenting war. The conversations of the "dynamic" fascist chiefs dealt with the one theme: how to place dynamite under peace. For whether a military alliance was concluded between Hitler and Mussolini is not the decisive point. It is not the letter of a treaty, but the spirit that matters, and fascism knows no other spirit than war.

The principal topic of conversation between them was Spain: the fascist dictators discussed how to continue the work of destruction in Spain. Hitler talked for hours to convince his host that, after the occupation of Austria, he must be allowed a free hand in Czechoslovakia. They discussed which areas were to be assigned to one and which to the other for "penetration." They drew up a program for redividing the world.

Malicious tongues assert that the streets of Rome were illuminated so brightly during Hitler's visit because the two partners know quite well what to expect of each other, and each of them therefore was mortally afraid to meet the other in the dark. One does not like to walk through a dark forest when one knows that it is infested with robbers. Indeed, hardly six weeks before Hitler's "cordial" visit to Mussolini the "Fuehrer" played the "Duce" a trick that Italy will long remember. It is already reported that the harbor of Trieste is growing more and more deserted as a result of the occupation of Austria. Mussolini, who employed much intrigue and effort to penetrate the Balkans, is like a dejected tanner who sees his pelt floating away downstream, for Hitler has snatched the best tidbits in this region from him. In the fascist thieves' argot this is called "eternal friendship."

Hitler at the Brenner—that is Italy's nightmare. Mussolini, the ultra-nationalist, has committed the worst sort of national treason to Italy. Many an Italian fascist is shaking his head incredulously and can't get over his astonishment. Ethiopia is far away, but the Brenner is very near, and the people are bitterly asking why Mussolini is sacrificing Italy's interests to Hitler.

Mussolini paraded all types of arms before his guest; perhaps with the ulterior motive of intimidating his guest a bit and hinting that he stop at the Brenner. Hitler, to be sure, interpreted this "gesture" as a threat to the democratic nations, and in one of his toasts—for there was a lot of drinking done in Rome and Florence during his stay—he spoke of the "bloc of 120,000,000" (Germany and Italy).

The two fascist autocrats are still far from thinking of coming to blows. What is uppermost in their minds, rather, is how to spring at the others' throats. It would be dangerous self-deception to think that the Berlin-Rome war axis is falling apart, as many "naive" British newspapers are trying to make their readers believe. No matter how much of the stuff of conflict is concealed within the Berlin-Rome relationship, today both stand together against world peace, against the freedom of Spain, against the independence of Czechoslovakia, against the democracies of Europe.

On this trip to Italy Hitler was accompanied by tens of thousands of Gestapo agents, who, besides their job of

protecting him from the altogether too warm "love" of the Italians, also were assigned to give Mussolini a faint idea of the dark forces that are expected to keep "Germany, the theater of war" "pure" in case of war.

Incidentally, Germany's 22,000,000 Catholics and the some 6,000,000 Catholics in Austria, may think this over in this connection: Under the pretext of an alleged "lack of foreign exchange" the Hitler regime forbids them to attend international religious gatherings and congresses abroad. But the regime begrudges no foreign exchange when tens of thousands of Gestapo agents are to be shipped abroad. This sheds dazzling light upon the veracity of the Hitler dictatorship, to which Catholic dignitaries like the Sudeten prelate Hilgenreiner and Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna kowtow.

Hitler's visit to Italy cost four million pounds. The people had to pay for it. Fascist regimes are expensive affairs. What is not swallowed up by their armaments is wasted on street illuminations, splendid buildings, visits of pomp, and the like.

But these four million pounds are far from being the most important. Let the peaceable peoples see to it that the feverish activity of the fascists: espionage, armament, stirring up strife among nations, do not cost the masses their peace some day! Let the masses of the people become conscious of their strength. It is mightier, more powerful, more imposing than all the fascist fireworks and gangster parades. "Fascism is a ferocious power, but an unstable one," as Comrade Dimitroff has said.

The Truth Gets Into "Der Angriff" by Mistake

"WE HAVEN'T gone crazy and we don't absolutely want to go to a concentration camp," was what a German paper wrote in celebration of May First. In a country where fascist megalomania rules and the concentration camp is the most important governmental institution this assertion sounds like the desperate cry of a sane man in a padded cell. This man took over the job of writing an editorial on the First of May in *Der Angriff*, Herr Goebbels' paper.

What should one write in Germany to convince the workers that the brown-shirted May Day is not a mockery of the working class, but a holiday, so to speak? *Der Angriff* is read less and less; the dazzling lies of a propaganda that outshouts itself grow more and more boring; the usual pathos wouldn't make the readers laugh, not to mention read an editorial. There was one way, the only one, of arousing the interest of the readers: they would have to tell the truth, just a wee bit of the truth. And so the May First editorial does not begin with the headline "The Fuehrer Calls!" or "The May Day of the German People" or "The Day of the German Man of Labor," but with the modest query: "Must We Make Believe Tomorrow?"

An astounding title for an article on a holiday, and even more astounding is what follows the headline:

"The good old lazy days of the six-hour day are gone for a long time now; nobody thinks of idle shifts; and in Germany we know of the forty-hour week only from the discussions in France. Instead, men have to work with a vengeance; in certain industries overtime is a matter of course that cannot be dispensed with; and when one leaves the factory gate at night, he feels in his bones how much strength he has left behind him in the plant. Aren't we perhaps sweating the workers?"

Yes, indeed, you are sweating the workers! A plebiscite on this question would show nothing but "Yes" votes, if there were no faking of the returns and no Gestapo. You made no mistake in your query; you are real sweaters of labor!

"There are no strikes any more!" *Der Angriff* continues. "Giving notice, moving, traveling around, as you may feel like doing, say, between morning and noon, are prevented by the Four-Year Plan, which limits the freedom of moving about from place to place and wants the skilled worker in the precise job where he is most urgently needed. Knocking off for a day because the piecework turned out all right, overtime filled the pay envelope, and now your pockets are full is not only morally killed off by the new honor of work, but is practically forbidden by the duty to work. Isn't that sweating the workers?"

It is sweating the workers! The people's answer to this question is "Yes" too! Don't worry your heads with any doubts: it is genuine, shabby, disgraceful sweating of the workers.

Der Angriff continues to list the social achievements of the Third Reich:

"The right to demonstrate has been taken away: nobody can choose for him-

self against what and for whom he wants to fill the streets. There isn't any right to organize any more, and anything that doesn't bear the Nazi stamp incurs the penalty of the law. The international solidarity of class interests is flatly denied; the shop councils have been abolished; wage scales aren't negotiated any more, but decreed; and the employers have bosses' rights again, make good profits, and still don't have to raise wages."

And this is followed by the words: "We haven't gone crazy!" No, they haven't gone crazy; they have simply spoken from the German capitalists' hearts. They have cynically set forth what Hitler has tendered the German sweaters of workers. They have gone before the workers and cynically called out, "Why make believe any more? You know that you are badly off; we aren't managing any longer to convince you that it isn't so. So it is better for us to speak frankly, as our Fuehrer frankly put it: 'There are no wage increases in the Third Reich!'" These are the May Day slogans of National-Socialism.

After these sensations of cynical frankness the editorial writer still tries to prove that the Nazis are not sweaters of labor. His arguments are not merely pitiably threadbare; they show that the writer doesn't take them seriously himself. After describing how the strength is drained from the workers' bones, he adds that joy in working has "increased imponderably." This imponderable increase in the joy of work is said to be the result of the "equal rights" of the workers and the employers — evidently achieved through the abolition of the shop councils, the ironclad dictation of wage scales, and the bosses' rights of the employers, who are making a good profit and still do not have to raise wages. And the closing words of the article are wholly at variance with the previous description of sweatshop conditions:

"The gaiety on this day is genuine. It embraces everyone—sweaters, the sweated, party, people, youth, age—it seems as if joy tastes twice as good because it has been honestly earned again with many drops of sweat."

In the light of these phrases it is unnecessary to answer the writer's last question:

"We put labor at the central point and honor the worker on this day—isn't that hypocrisy?"

It is hypocrisy. But this hypocrisy has grown flimsy and threadbare. Through its holes and tears we see the naked sweating of workers, the embitterment of the German workers, which can no longer be concealed. The Nazis have grown big through lies; things are going badly for them if truth crosses the threshold of their editorial offices.

"German Booty"—a Preliminary Balance

DURING the World War the German troops left a characteristic trail behind them after each offensive. On all stocks left behind by the enemy, on the doors of abandoned homes, on wine cellars, and on barns there was pasted the label "German booty." German officers sent back home to their relatives much more than foodstuffs; they sent back the furnishings of whole houses, bales of textile goods, pianos, and cases full of all sorts of goods. The German troops destroyed with German thoroughness whatever they could not take with them or send back home.

On March 12 Austria was occupied by German troops, and all Austria became "German booty." The "saviors from deepest misery"—that is what the German occupying forces styled themselves in the World War, and why should they deny themselves this title in Austria today?—removed all the gold and foreign exchange of the Austrian National Bank to Germany as their first act of liberation. About half a billion gold schillings were taken, a sum several times the size of the German Reichsbank's reserves. The Austrian population, under threat of severe penalties, was compelled to surrender all gold and foreign exchange in private hands. This yielded, as the *Neue Zuericher Zeitung* reports, "it is supposed, another half billion, if not much more, according to estimates in well-informed circles." But that is much too little for the fascist plunderers. At the present time the confiscation of all Jewish property in excess of 5,000 marks is being prepared for by the compulsory registration of all such Jewish holdings; as the jargon of the Third Reich puts it, these holdings are to be placed at the disposal of the Goering Plan. This will yield another two billions.

With the entry of the German troops, "a sudden boom in Austrian business set in," according to the claims of the Hitler press. All textile stores in Vienna and other big cities were sold out within a few days, in so far as they had not been looted. Swarms of housewives and dealers literally followed in the footsteps of the German Army, and in a few hours all the markets near the German frontier were swept clean of goods. Butter, eggs, bread, flour, meat, and other foods were the chief items sought after.

That is one side of the balance sheet. On the other side there is, together with all the horrors of German fascism, the foot-and-mouth disease.

Germany has been suffering an epidemic of this disease for the past few months such as has never occurred before. The strictest counter-measures are proving wholly ineffective. The number of infected communities rose from 3,069 to 3,669 in two weeks (the middle of March to April 1), while the number of infected farms rose from 16,338 to 22,079 during the same period.

In democratic Germany voluntary compliance with the counter-epidemic regulations and the active cooperation of the peasants always led to complete isolation of the disease within a comparatively short time. Fascist Germany is not succeeding in doing so even though the severest compulsory measures are taken, nor can it succeed. The German peasants, who can keep alive only by evading the

market regulations, have found a thousand and one ways of selling and slaughtering cattle and pigs clandestinely. The German peasants are solidly resisting compulsion and espionage, which have been developed in the Third Reich to a hitherto unknown extent, and the draconic penalties have proved to be ineffective. Apparently the veterinary quarantine measures are proving just as ineffective. Through the clandestine channels of illegal trading the foot-and-mouth disease is spreading over the whole Reich.

The German troops have accomplished what the "careless" Austrians have been able to prevent successfully up to now: the introduction of this plague from adjoining Bavaria. The foot-and-mouth disease was brought to Austria on the boots of the German army. Shortly after the occupation, outbreaks of the disease were reported from several places in Austria, among them Schaerding and Braunau, the points where the German army crossed the frontier. Hitler has made his first present to his birthplace, Braunau-am-Inn — the foot-and-mouth disease.

Austrian Workers Experience the Third Reich

BEFORE the invasion of the Third Reich the Austrian Nazis, as the fitting agents of Hitler, always praised the allegedly high standard of living in Germany to the masses in Austria. Over there—in the Third Reich—the workers and peasants were much better off than in Austria. But during the weeks that have followed the forcible seizure of Austria nothing more of this nature can be found in the coordinated newspapers. Not a word is said about adjusting the standard of living of the masses of Austria to the allegedly higher standard in Germany. For the Austrian population has already come to feel the exact opposite. All wage increases were prohibited, while rises in prices and increases in taxation have set in. The Nazis' attempt to corrupt 2,000 Austrian workers by means of a free trip to Germany was a miserable failure. "Two thousand workers are traveling through the Reich to experience the new Germany," it was said at first. But now the public is not told how the 2,000 workers experienced the new Germany and what they have been telling their fellow workers in the factories.

The Nazi papers, which find space for all sorts of rubbish, interview every corrupted rascal at length, and reprint whole pages from every small foreign sheet that is in their pay, have no further reports to make regarding the Strength Through Joy travelers from Austria. Not a single report by a worker has been published. This is not merely an expression of the fact that a worker's word isn't worth anything in the Nazi Reich. How gladly would the brown-shirted bosses use two or three real factory workers for their propaganda. But in their reports on the Third Reich these workers told the truth, and that is no sort of propaganda for Hitler.

The Austrian Strength Through Joy tourists have made sober, objective reports buttressed with figures. They have stuck strictly to the facts. They brought back with them, for instance, the menu card of a Berlin people's restaurant and read it aloud at the factory meeting. To be sure, that was an editorial somewhat different from those in the coordinated *Reichspost*. This bare report, in figures, showed that a plate of soup costs 37 to 45 Austrian groschen in Berlin as against only 20 groschen in Vienna, roast pork 1.80 to 1.90 schillings in Germany as against 1.00 to 1.20 schillings in Austria, a table d'hote dinner 1.80 schillings in Berlin as against 1.00 to 1.20 schillings in Austria, and so forth. Faced with these figures, the few Nazis there are in Austrian factories were quite silent. And they could not even cite higher wages. It is true that the Austrian Strength Through Joy tourists had little opportunity to ascertain the wages of German workers. Their Storm Troop and Elite Guard guides wanted to prevent this at any cost. They claimed that, for the German worker, wages were a minor affair; it was an honor for him to sweat and work. But the Austrian workers took it for granted that only a rascal can eat his fill from the honor of the Third Reich, but not a proletarian and his family. In spite of all obstacles

they were able to learn, in their sober, trade-unionist fashion, what some wages were. And they found that a German railwayman, for example, is paid 35 marks a week and that the wages of the textile workers were even lower than in Austria, not to mention the metal workers, who earn at least ten per cent less than those in Austria.

When the Austrian workers figured in the high rents in Germany, which eat up one-quarter of a worker's earnings, and remembered that Austria has had a Tenant's Protection Law up to now and that rents in Austria are about half those in Germany, they got an idea of the blessings of the Third Reich for the working people. This was best summarized ironically by one of the reporting workers as follows:

"Cameras, automobiles, motorcycles, and yachts are cheaper in Germany than here, while bread, fats, meat, butter, and flour are dearer; but that doesn't matter, for you get so little of them anyway."

Hence the Austrian workers were not at all astounded to see the discontent and grumbling of the masses breaking out through the official whitewash everywhere in Germany. They found it understandable and at the same time exciting when the Hamburg longshoremen slipped them the following leaflet:

"Austrian comrade, when you come to Germany, remember that hundreds of thousands of workers are languishing in the concentration camps and prisons in Germany. Remember that Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class, has been unlawfully kept in jail for five years now. Remember that your own country was occupied by Hitler troops. Therefore vote '*no*' on April 10.—*Communist Party of Hamburg.*"

The Austrian workers have listened to this appeal. They are remaining true to the cause of their class; they are fighting alongside the German workers against the barbarism of Hitler fascism. They will wage this struggle despite the terror that is already heralded in the arrest of 150 of the Strength Through Joy tourists.

The Strength Through Joy trip gave them little joy, but it did give them the strength to carry on effective propaganda against the Third Reich. They have seen a bit of the new Germany, and they were arrested because they reported the truth. Now they will get to know the core of the new Germany: the concentration camp. For them Strength Through Joy means concentration camp through foreign rule. Their comrades, outside in comparative freedom, will see to it that the strength of truth will upset the joy of the conquerors.

How Modigliani Barks at Marx

THERE is a species of Social-Democratic leader whose leadership consists of missing opportunities. If the defense against a fascist attack is to be organized, they discuss the matter until the enemy succeeds in delivering his blow. If victory is to be prepared for, they adduce so many profound "ifs" and "buts" until the favorable moment passes by unutilized. If retreat becomes necessary, they lose their heads and writhe in panic as if Judgment Day had come. But if a defeat has been suffered, they mount the high platform of "theory" and prove to a nicety, with many quotations, columns of figures, and interpretations of history, that it had to come just that way and no other.

The Italian Socialist Modigliani, the Italian edition of Otto Bauer, so to speak, is a worthy representative of this kind of leader, not very farseeing, and looking backward by the very essence of their nature. Modigliani scents danger everywhere. He always has erudite "ifs" and "buts" in store to blind the vision of the masses.

Modigliani has discovered a new peril, against which he is fighting as Don Quixote once did against the windmills. Against the efforts of the proletariat and of all the masses of the people to establish a solid bloc against the fascist warmongers Modigliani protests that war cannot be "abolished" unless capitalism itself has been overthrown. Truly an epochal discovery!

But—the proletariat does join in trade unions and fight for better wages and working conditions, although it knows that it can "abolish" its exploitation only after the overthrow of capitalism. If the proletariat cannot overthrow capitalism today as yet, should it allow the fascists a free hand to unleash war without rallying its own forces and the forces of all the peoples whose national independence is menaced by fascism?

Modigliani says that the union of peoples against the fascist warmongers evokes the danger of war and signifies a summons to war, while *every* war is reactionary.

Modigliani stands reason on its head. According to his theory locked doors, as well as every other sort of protection, are merely a temptation for thieves to break into a house. Who would be so bold as to advise the population of any big city not to protect itself against burglars? And why shouldn't the democratic peoples and nations, who are infinitely superior to the fascists in material power and in morale, combine against the burglars?

Modigliani thinks he is very "Left" when he calls *every* war reactionary. In fact, Modigliani doesn't seem to know Right from Left. If Hitler attacks Czechoslovakia, and its people is compelled to wage war against him, that is not a reactionary war, but a war for national liberation. Should the Spanish people let itself be slaughtered and enslaved by the German and Italian intervention hordes because it hasn't overthrown capitalism as yet and is now effecting its democratic revolution? Is the war of the Spanish people reactionary? With all his imagined *dangers* Modigliani does not see the real *danger*, the danger of fascist totalitarian war!

Like all the nearsighted who think they are the devil knows how farsighted, Modigliani becomes arrogant and presumes to attack Marx in a postscript to his article. He assures us that:

"Faced with a choice between the error of Marx, who expected so much from war but obtained nothing, and the civilian courage of Blum, who has remained true to 'No War!' even today, against the general trend, I prefer Blum's civilian courage!"

Courage is no doubt a fine thing, and so is civilian courage. But foolhardiness must not be allowed to flourish, and it is nothing but breakneck foolhardiness when frustrated leaders of Modigliani's sort make bold to accuse Marx of error.

Marx has outlived so many of his major and minor slayers, those who would give the deathblow to some detail of his doctrine or to all of it, that he will probably survive Modigliani's chatter too. What Marx predicted regarding the effect of a war against tsarist Russia came true 100 per cent. What he expected of a defeat of tsarist autocracy has proved to be wholly correct. What he "obtained" is the Soviet Union, the country where the workers and peasants are the masters of their fate, where they have realized socialism and are proceeding to communism. Modigliani doesn't seem to have noticed this.

As for Leon Blum's "civilian courage" in the Spanish problem, only the fascist powers who are intervening in Spain and the British Conservative blockheads have any reason for being grateful to him for his policy of non-intervention. Still Modigliani praises this "civilian courage," which has cost the lives of so many civilians in Barcelona, Madrid, Guernica, and Durango. The 15,000 children who have been slaughtered by Mussolini's and Hitler's bombers are a deplorable monument to the policy of non-intervention. Truly it doesn't require very much civilian courage to surrender to the fascist blackmailers. The Italian volunteers who are fighting against Franco will have their own opinion of the "civilian courage" of Modigliani, who plays Leon Blum off against Marx.

The working class of the world has celebrated the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of Karl Marx's birth conscious of the fact that in Marx there arose a teacher and organizer, a creative genius, an awakener of its strength, whose doctrine, extended by Lenin and Stalin, is its guide in the barbarous gloom of fascism and capitalism. The working class continues calmly on its way—with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. And whoever gets in its way, no matter how learned his pose or how many subtleties he may invent to prevent it from marching ahead, will be pushed to one side by the momentum of its advance.

Codreanu-the Arch-Rumanian Hitler Guardsman

AFTER the exposure of the Cagoulards and their arms depots in France, now Rumania has its Cagoulard scandal, centered around the "Iron Guard."

The leader or, as he styles himself, the "captain" of the Iron Guard is Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu, who looks upon the "purity" of the Rumanian nation as his monopoly. History maliciously records, however, that:

His grandfather was plain Simon Zilinski, as befits a Pole of true Polish stock. His grandmother, Agafia Antek, was a Hungarian. His father, Jon Zilinski, married a German, Elisa Brauner.

In 1902 the father of the future Hurrah-Rumanian discovered his Rumanian heart and adopted the name of Zelea-Codreanu. That opened the road for the youngster. The first "heroic deeds" of the hopeful "Fuehrer" were attacks upon striking workers in 1919. Since then he has always been on the side of the enemies of the workers, the enemies of peace and democracy.

The upstart Rumanian of Polish-Hungarian-German origin gathered a gang of cutthroats around him in subsequent years, and hatched plots for the murder of Liberal ministers and democratic editors. Assassinations, attempted murders, and attacks upon workers dotted the course of the Rumanian would-be dictator. Money flowed from obscure sources into the pockets of the terror gang, which adopted the pious-sounding name of "St. Michael's Legion" at first, later changing it to the somewhat more prosaic, but more "heroic" title of "Iron Guard." The Liberal cabinet minister Duca was "dispatched" according to the pattern of the medieval vehme, but Codreanu was acquitted.

In the meantime Hitler had become Chancellor of the German Reich. Rumania is a country rich in natural resources. It is rich in oil: Germany consumes 4,000,000 tons of oil annually, and in case of war will consume 12,000,000 tons annually, according to the computations of General Serrigny, the French oil expert. The German capitalists made piles of money in Rumanian oil even during the World War; and old love never dies, especially the financiers' love for swollen profits.

Rumania is rich in grain, lumber, coal, gold, and many other raw materials, the mere mention of which makes the fascists' mouths water.

Rumania belong to the Little Entente; it is allied to France and has a common frontier with the Soviet Union. Germany would like to get Rumania in its clutches at any price in order to supply itself with raw materials, to weaken Czechoslovakia, to isolate France, to open the road to the Balkans and to Belgrade, and to push its attack upon the Soviet Union.

So the pure-blooded German, Hitler, discovered the arch-Rumanian Codreanu and his Iron Guard, thirsting for bribes, which had by now adopted the sonorous title "Everything for the Fatherland." This congenial pair soon recognized their affinity. The "Everything for the Fatherland" Party became Hitler's proxy in Rumania. Once the "captain" bewailed his organization's lack of funds and wrote with false modesty: "God wanted to show that matter did not play the slightest part in the Legion's fight and victory."

But now that he had become Hitler's boarder and had sold him the Iron Guard, all his worries were banished, and since "matter" did not play any part any more because Hitler funds were flowing, he could establish head-

quarters of his own on a well-known pattern, the so-called "Green Houses," equip arms depots, and make preparations for a "March on Bucharest." Codreanu's dictatorship was to turn Rumania into a Hitler-Manchukuo.

But King Carol is in residence in Bucharest, and he has imposed his own dictatorship upon the people. Carol doesn't want to dance according to Codreanu's tune, but wants to play his own tunes for the masses. Carol hates democracy and the masses of the people no less than his rival does. Carol wants to be on a good footing with Hitler-Germany, but he doesn't want to precipitate matters. Tremendous amounts of French, British, American and Czechoslovakian capital are invested in Rumanian industry. Carol needs new loans, which he would like to obtain in France or England. He is afraid of affronting these powers altogether too brusquely. Dissatisfaction is growing with the speed of an avalanche among the exploited workers, peasants, white-collar workers, small shopkeepers and artisans. These masses have before their eyes the stirring example of the powerful neighboring country of socialism. Before the Revolution of 1848 the Austrian emperor Franz Josef expressed the hope that Austria would continue to suffer Metternich and him; but in the revolution it turned out that Austria would no longer suffer Metternich. Carol is far from certain that Rumania will suffer him and Codreanu-Zilinski too.

Then there are the intrigues of the court camarilla which are spun around Carol, his brother Nicholas, and the little Crown Prince Michael. And finally there is the personal enmity between Carol and Codreanu, who, pure of heart as fascist assassins and candidates for dictatorship like to pretend to be, is offended by the king's private life. For the present the perfume of the king's exiled mistress and British interests' fears concerning oil have won out over Codreanu.

The royal police saw to it that Codreanu's aspirations did not grow too high. Raids disclosed compromising documents which indicated that the "Everything for the Fatherland" people had formed a state within a state, a "fatherland" within a fatherland, so to speak, and that they had their own army, their own courts—vehmic courts, their own finances, and their own intelligence service. And this artificial "fatherland" was in the pay of a "foreign power," which supplied it with many millions in funds. To be sure, the government discreetly concealed the name of the foreign power for which the "Everything for the Fatherland" betrayed its country, but everyone inside and outside Rumania knew and knows who furnished the Iron Guardists with money, and for whom they carried on espionage on a large scale and prepared the "March on Bucharest." The Rumanian government thought it could pass over the delicate situation with an attitude of "Don't ask me any questions," but the people answered: the foreign power is Hitler Germany, to whom no plot nor any conspiracy against peace is foreign.

The headquarters of the "Guard" was closed, hundreds of active Guardists were interned, the "March on Bucharest" failed to occur, and Carol can calmly start his quest for loans. But we are under no illusions that Carol's police will eliminate Hitler's Iron Guard spies and agents. The danger is not over. Terror and corruption flourish as before, the rights of the people are being trampled underfoot now as before, and the Cuzas, Gogas, and Vaida-Voevods continue to spin their threads with Berlin.

The danger is not over. Carol's government makes use of the country's agitation to persecute the revolutionary workers. The struggle against the Iron Guard serves the government as a mask for striking the main blow actually against the proletariat, the peasant masses, and the democratic people's movement that is now arising. Only the united proletariat and the democratically united masses of the people, irrespective of party difference, can enroll Rumania in the front of peace and freedom.

If the people is united, all the Iron Guards, with their German gold fillings, will break their teeth on granite!

As Matters Stand . . .

THAT is, in Berne, the capital of Switzerland. The press prints a truly astonishing dispatch from that city. The Berne elementary schools are using a Hitler German textbook because, the Berne teachers say, the Swiss text covering the same ground is out of print for the present and cannot be obtained. And the Department of Education of the canton of Berne isn't at all excited over the matter. It finds it quite proper for children in the Berne schools to be summoned by their textbook "to surrender themselves body and soul, as boys and girls, to their leader Adolf Hitler." "As matters stand," this strange Swiss department of education declares, "this is not a crime, not even a mistake."

How do matters stand? Hitler has occupied Austria by force; he is preparing to mete out the same fate to Czechoslovakia in the near future. There are 140,000 Germans living in Switzerland, who are compelled to register at their consulates; many of them are pressed into the espionage and Gestapo services. Moreover, Switzerland is covered with a network of legal organizations of the Nazi party. A Swiss Catholic newspaper, *Die Entscheidung*, pictures the import of these organizations as follows:

"No less than 100 National-Socialist local groups with at least 10,000 party soldiers, fully trained for the Storm Troops and the Elite Guards, who have taken the oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler and are always ready for action, cover our country like a spiderweb. This organization regards the whole of German-speaking Switzerland as a region of Greater Germany, which has long ago been divided up into districts, each headed by district leaders."

Men and women are forcibly kidnapped from Switzerland and taken to Germany, and Swiss officers belonging to the Frontist movement are in close contact with the "foreign bureaus" of the Third Reich. One of the leading Swiss officers, Colonel Willie, a corps commander, is a close friend of Rudolph Hess, the "Fuehrer's deputy." Nevertheless Swiss Social-Democracy stages a joint demonstration with this Nazi colonel for the "independence of Switzerland."

That is how matters stand. In the eyes of the Berne district leadership of the Switzerland region of the Nazi party the use of German textbooks is no mistake, of course. It is up to the free citizens of democratic Switzerland to decide whether the Department of Education of Berne has done the right thing.

There is no doubt that the desire of the Swiss people for independence and liberty is unbroken. It is most strongly expressed in the proletarian press and is also reflected in the bourgeois press. The Swiss people has been demanding the unconditional defense of Switzerland in countless meetings. The working class manifested its readiness to defend the country against any fascist aggressor by carrying the Swiss flag in its parades on the First of May. All the more astonishing is the fact of the undermining of national defense morale, the education of the youth of Berne through fascist German textbooks. As matters stand, it is probably more than a mistake when the children of the Swiss are called upon to "surrender themselves body and soul to their leader Adolf Hitler."

Old Love Never Dies

AUSTRIA is occupied. Hitler hopes to make Czechoslovakia ready for capture with Chamberlain's assistance. So it is not astonishing that his gaze goes far afield searching out the corners of the world in which Germans are still waiting for the Fuehrer, the Gestapo, and ration cards. He hopes to grab Memel, Danzig, and similar items in passing. But that isn't enough.

Just as the great French general knew that in war one needs money, money, and still more money, the brown-shirted bandits are fully aware that one can hardly fight a war with *Ersatz* material; one also needs oil. Neither the Austrian nor the Sudeten Germans can be of any help in that respect. So let's pick up a German minority whose liberation quickly provides oil wells!

M. Codreanu's Iron Guards are quickly bought up to open the road to Rumanian oil. But one cannot say that these people are a German minority, and yet Hitler is driving toward the East. So he finds a soft spot in his heart for the Balkan peoples and is ready to make them pure Aryans free of taxes.

"The Danube area," someone writes in the coordinated Vienna *Neue Freie Presse,* "belongs to the Central European field of force from a folk and myth point of view." They quote German poets of the past who have sung the praises of the Danube and the freedom-loving Balkan peoples. This is supposed to prove that there are "German interests" in the Balkans as well as on the Black Sea.

The brown-shirted bandits strike the pose of romantic crusaders who want to sail down the Danube on the wings of song with verses of Herder and Hoelderlin.

When Paul Rohrbach proclaimed the plans of German imperialism to the world before 1914, when the Prussian generals under Von der Goltz became pashas in order to Prussianize the Turks and connect Berlin to Bagdad with the aid of the decaying Austrian Empire, they were franker. At that time the Deutsche Bank did not have to award any prizes for literary excursions on "mythical and folk" ties. It still had cash and did not have to make romantic knighthood take the place of cash.

To be sure, they could not do entirely without propaganda parades, and the traveling salesman of German big business at the time, Wilhelm, formerly so loquacious and today a woodchopper in Doorn, had to make a trip to Damascus and deliver speeches on German-Turkish friendship. The desert journey of this predecessor of Hitler and Goering was as delightful for the spectators as it was advantageous for the bankers, who were proceeding to carve up the Turkish Empire at the time.

This was at the end of the 'nineties, when the expansion plans of German capital in the Near East were young. At that time Germany wanted to open up the rich oil fields of Mesopotamia by building the Bagdad Railway, and driving a wedge into the colonial possessions of England and France.

The history of twenty years of struggle among the three decisive imperialist powers of Europe, Britain, France and Germany, was enacted largely in this area, to which the Danube is to lead the Germans, according to the wishes of German finance capital. Of course, they never abandoned the prospect of seeking their fortune in more profitable areas than Syria and Arabia. They were quick to lay hands on the resources of the Caucasus, when opportunity to do so offered itself in 1917.

But their most persistent efforts always turned around the resources of Mesopotamia. Here Hitler's friends are following the footsteps of the German engineer Von Pressel (of no more Aryan descent than many of the gentlemen of the Deutsche Bank) and of the Deutsche Bank, which had been working ever since 1888 for the realization of the plan that Hitler has now picked up again.

These fifty years were rich in incidents: little of the oil sought by the crusaders of the Deutsche Bank in the Holy Land reached Germany. But the inhabitants of the concession areas had to pay heavy tribute to the German Bank magnates, and millions of sons of the German people bled for the Bagdad project.

Today the British and French, carefully exploiting their victory in the war, have occupied positions that make it not so easy to advance toward Mesopotamia. Palestine is under British "protectorate" and Syria under the French; Alexandretta, which is regarded by the gentlemen of the German Bank as the gate of entry to the Near East, is under French control.

But the new traveling salesman of the Deutsche Bank and the I.G. Farbenindustrie, which occupies so powerful a position today in the fight for oil, has already taken many preparatory steps. He has not appointed any Von der Goltz for Turkey as yet, nor has Goering displayed any inclination to go hunting in Asia. But they are not far from it.

Hitler is on the Danube. He peers into the future and, as usual, he sees his future in the past.

The Bagdad policy of Hitler's predecessors before the war consisted of continually playing with the contradictions between Britain and France in Mesopotamia. German big business took its first steps in this area with the aid of Britain, while it maneuvered with France in the period of greatest tension. And today there are tensions between the interests of these two countries, while Mussolini's Italy likewise comes forward as an interested party in this area with its propaganda among the Arabs.

By surrendering Austria Chamberlain and his loyal servants of the Quai d'Orsay have opened the gateway to the Danube for Hitler. British reaction, by so doing, wanted to deflect the impending blow toward the East, against the Soviet Union. But as we see, in so doing it has first opened the road for the Third Reich to areas where the latter can tread rather painfully on the toes of the British and French apostles of appeasing Hitler's policy of expansion.

Two Years of the Spanish People's Heroic Struggle

BY ROSA MICHEL

"Only through the enemy's weakness is fascism strong." (Pasionaria.)

IT IS almost two years now that the Spanish people has been fighting with unparalleled heroism against the united forces of German and Italian fascism to defend its national independence, and to drive out of its country the bandits, the enemy that wants to reimpose upon it the century-old yoke that it had thrown off forever.

But the Spanish people is not only fighting for itself. If Spain became an Italo-German colony and the Spanish people a colonial people, other peoples, today still free and independent, would be in danger of soon falling victims to bloody fascism.

And because the Spanish people wants to spare all other peoples this suffering, it has been honorably fulfilling for the past two years the historical task of the fight *"in the advanced trenches of civilization for the defense of freedom and peace throughout the world."*

* * *

Let us bring to mind the frantic succession of events in the two weeks that preceded July 18, 1936.

The first three days of July will be marked forever by the ineradicable stamp of the sacrifice of Ethiopia to Italian fascism. The session of the League of Nations was coming to a close, accompanied by the Italian fascists' shameless jeers at the Ethiopian people. But their jeers and derision were aimed not only at the Ethiopians, but at all other nations. The world is indebted to Litvinov, the representative of the U.S.S.R., for the fact that the fascist aggressors were prevented from doing a complete job and burying the League of Nations and collective security after having buried the independence of Ethiopia. But nevertheless the forces of war had registered a triumph over the forces of peace.

Today, two years later, we may ask: *did the world adequately realize how closely the destiny of every free country in Europe was bound up with that of the Ethiopian people? Did it adequately realize that the occupation of Ethiopia was the second link in the chain which began with the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and which may lead to a world war if the peoples do not succeed in breaking the chain in time?*

Only a few days had passed since this meeting of the League when a new blow fell on July 11: *the Berlin-Vienna agreement* was signed. At the time they called this agreement "moral Anschluss." Its tragic outcome was the invasion of Austria by German fascism in March, 1938. That was the third link.

With what embitterment does one now re-read the appeal made by Alvarez del Vayo to the London Congress of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions on July 10 on behalf of the Spanish trade unions, in which he urgently asked that *the struggle against war* be placed in the foreground and that *effective measures be taken against*

war! Unfortunately, his call was in vain.

Little more than a week later, on July 18, fascism unleashed the mutiny of a handful of traitorous generals in Spain! That was the fourth link.

Now, after almost two years have passed, we must ask: *where would we be today if the fascist uprising had succeeded at that time in choking the Spanish Republic to death? What would have become of Europe and the world if the Spanish people had not blocked the raging assault of fascism in those days of July? Is there not every reason to assume that then we would have had to add a new and much bloodier August 4, 1914, to this list of fascist offenses?*

* * *

The forces of reaction and of Spanish fascism had carefully planned the military fascist uprising in Spain in the closest agreement with Italian and German fascism.

The elections of February, 1936, resulted in victory for the Spanish People's Front. The Republic proceeded to free itself from the remnants of feudalism, even though it still left reaction much too much freedom of action. The working class won for itself social legislation, wages were raised, the peasants were given land, the prison gates opened for the thousands of Asturian miners who were still in prison, the Communist Party became the great mass party, the united front for the proletariat became a reality, and the People's Front grew stronger.

Reaction, Spanish fascism, and its German and Italian allies saw that their prey was escaping them. For, once the forces of reaction were swept out of Spain, the country would develop into a democratic great power, mighty as a result of its immeasurable natural resources and the inexhaustible resources of its people's energy, courage and talent. A great democratic Spain would mean an alliance with France of the People's Front and the mutual consolidation of both of these big progressive forces, whose might would be multiplied tenfold by their friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. This would have given a powerful impetus to the movement for a People's Front in England. It would have meant that Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other smaller countries would escape the fascist thirst for wealth. This would have meant peace throughout the world, enforced by the masses.

But German and Italian fascism need Spain for their war. They need its raw materials, they need the whole country as a field of action for intensifying their fight against the democratic countries, they need it to be able to isolate France and to be in a better position to attack. They need this advantageous strategic position to start a new world war.

Fascism was able to light the torch of war in Spain in such a manner only because the democratic government did altogether too little to disturb the position of reaction, which was allied with Hitler and Mussolini.

* * *

Even before the uprising reaction organized the conspiracy against the Republic in the economic field. Here it was that the banks, the big industrialists, and the big landowners worked together closely; and the church hierarchy joined this trinity. Hundreds of millions of pesetas were sent abroad. The employers' groups concluded secret agreements with one another, shut down their factories to produce artificial unemployment, sabotaged production, made use of artful dodges to split the working class,* sabotaged social legislation, and did everything they could to sow discontent among the masses and to set them against the Republic and the People's Front. The big landowners proceeded in the same fashion: they sabotaged the

* For example, the employers complied with radical demands: in Seville they granted the building workers a 36-hour week (for which they received compensation from the employers' association) in order to rouse the building workers of Madrid against the government and against the 40-hour week.

sowing and the harvest and endeavored to produce a famine.*

The fascist generals held the most important posts of command in the army. Many officers who had organized the 1932 uprising against the Republic had been pardoned by the latter and continued to "serve" it, *i.e.*, to foment plots against it.

Franco, who was one of these, had been "transferred" to Morocco after his treason in 1932, where he was in command of 40,000 men at the time of the uprising. Another mutinous general had also been "transferred," to the Balearics, where he occupied himself preparing for the Italian invasion.

And another general demands special mention: Sanjurjo, who had been selected by Hitler fascism as the head of the new fascist state, but whom destiny disposed of otherwise. He was killed after July 18 as he was starting from Lisbon with an airplane for Spain.

The life of this general reflects the century-old and ineradicable hatred of the people on the part of the Spanish ruling class, but it also illustrates the weakness of the Republic at that time. The life of this man alone reveals German fascism's painstaking preparation for aggression in Spain. He was an officer under the monarchy and as early as 1923 was in contact with Italian fascism, which has always cast greedy eyes on the Balearic Islands. Under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera he, together with Franco, was the contact man between the Spanish dictatorship and the Italian dictatorship. In 1932 he organized the military uprising against the Republic in Seville. He was sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted the very same day and he was amnestied in 1934, after which he went abroad. From 1934 to 1936 he was busy organizing the new military uprising against the Spanish Republic. He traveled to Portugal, France, and Germany, and was in close contact with the fascist German government, whose guest he was for several months. He inspected the munitions factories and was to be found in Berlin, Hamburg, etc. He accumulated arms, he signed treaties with the fascist powers, he sold out his fatherland bit by bit, right and left. (It is these people who are called "nationalists" by the capitalist press.)

The fascist organizations within the country itself continued to exist, while new ones were established. Under the pressure of the working class secret arms depots were uncovered and conspiracies were revealed all the time. Secret organizations systematically assassinated democratic officers and civilians who would have been able to head the resistance of the masses of the people.

And so it came about that this band of fascist generals, who possessed no basis within the people, but who were most closely connected with the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, had almost the entire armed forces of the country at their disposal on July 18. Later, during the war, it was learned that the great 1936 maneuvers were deliberately held by the general staff north of Madrid and in the area of the three mountain chains of Leon, Somosierra, and Navacerrada. The fortifications that served the rebels as a base of operations against Madrid were built in connection with these maneuvers.

All this shows how necessary it is to be vigilant, *to learn not only how to uncover the armaments of the people's enemy, but also how to judge the degree and tempo of these armaments in time, in order not to be taken by surprise.*

* * *

These were the forces that the Spanish people faced on July 18. This was the conspiratorial power over which it triumphed by its own strength, in spite of the surprise nature of the fascist attack, thus giving a brilliant example to the world. The uprising was crushed in the major cities in ten days' time and,

* On June 26, (22 days before the uprising!) José Diaz demanded at a meeting of building workers in Madrid that the factories shut down by the sabotaging employers be confiscated and that a struggle be organized against the sabotaging of the harvest.

supported by the whole population, the proletariat would have finished with the whole fascist uprising very quickly. Then it was that the fascist executioners of the German and Italian peoples sent in their forces—the Italian and German troops invaded Spain.

While they were still looking for a "formula" in the chancelleries of Europe in order not to aid Republican Spain or to stab it in the back, while they invented the figleaf of the "Non-Intervention Committee" to mask intervention in favor of the rebels, German and Italian warships (the *Admiral Scheer*, the *Koeln*, the *Deutschland* and others) unloaded within a few days their transports of troops, officers, and instructors and their shipments of automatic guns, heavy artillery, giant tanks, and powerful war planes in the portion of Spain occupied by the rebels. The short time that elapsed between the 18th of July and the arrival of the transports proves the extent to which the fascist aggression was organized.

It was the battleship *Deutschland* that operated before Ceuta in order to protect a shipment of new troops from bombardment. It was German arms and German troops that were led against the people of Madrid in the first attack on that city. It was Italians who conquered Malaga and occupied all of southern Spain. Fifty thousand Italian soldiers took part in the battle of Guadalajara, in which Mussolini suffered his severe defeat. German warships bombarded Almeria, thus marking the beginning of unconcealed intervention. Hitler's 30,000 technical troops of all branches came to the aid of the Italian army to break through the Aragon front. And the Italian general staff publishes endless lists of casualties and photographs of Italian soldiers wounded in Spain. Franco himself admits that twelve Italian brigades were sent to Spain. Count Rossi is the absolute civil and military governor of Mallorca, responsible only to Mussolini. The German envoy in Salamanca exercises unlimited power in the part of Spain occupied by the rebels, and decides on military operations together with the German general staff. Moreover, the Italian and German shipments of troops and materials have continued at an accelerated rate since the Anglo-Italian agreement.

For almost two years now complete units of the regular Italian army and German troops have been going to Spain under their own commanders, with their own service of supplies, and with their own equipment. Heinckel, Fiat, Junker, and Messerschmidt airplanes have been bombing the cities of Spain, killing women, children, and the aged. Ten thousand children have been killed and 100,000 wounded since the beginning of the war. Infants at their mothers' breasts, children playing in the street, and pupils in school have been wiped out by German and Italian bombs.

That is "non-intervention"! That is what Viscount Halifax calls "civil war," to which the League of Nations Covenant does not apply.

For two years the reactionary circles of the British as well as the French bourgeoisie have been aiding the blockade of the Spanish Republic. They are the direct accomplices of fascist intervention. Under the pretext of "securing peace" the British government is pursuing a policy of constant yielding to fascism, a policy that leads to war because every concession to the fascists is an encouragement, a premium, for aggression. The result of this policy of Britain's and of the other bourgeois-democratic countries is that the war is setting more and more parts of the world on fire and is threatening a greater and greater number of nations.

These most reactionary circles of the British Conservatives live in insane fear of the People's Front. They want to smash it in Spain and in France. They think they can thus protect themselves against it. But that is a delusion because the British people now realizes better than before that they want to misuse it for a policy of adventurism. And now it understands better than before the necessity for the unity of all the forces that are for peace and freedom.

* * *

And the reactionary British circles have also exerted constant pressure upon the French government in order to make it trail behind it. The aims of these circles are plain: they want to weaken democratic France in order to be able to dominate Europe. And so we see how the French government, under the twofold pressure of reactionary forces—the British Conservatives and the reactionary pro-fascist circles in France—is supporting the policy of blockading Republican Spain, which for France is really a policy of suicide. Is it not France that has most to fear from the proximity of a fascist Spain? Do the French toilers also want to travel the path of suffering that their Spanish brothers are now treading? Does not the whole development of France's domestic and foreign situation exhibit enough similarity to what took place in Spain before July 18? Are not Hitler's threats to France plain and challenging enough? Are not the toiling masses of France fully justified in being vigilant?

The lawful government of the Spanish people asks only that Spain regain the normal international right of buying the arms that it needs for defense against fascism, against the enemy of the Spanish people, which is also the enemy of the British and French peoples. These two peoples, which were the historical pioneers in the struggle against feudalism, which have always taken the lead in every movement for democracy and freedom, and which started the big movement of solidarity for the Spanish people in the capitalist countries, are today under the obligation of aiding Republican Spain by a mighty action of the masses, and of shaking off the forces of reaction which want to force it back into the Middle Ages. The peoples of England and France are able to force their governments to follow a policy that corresponds to the interests of these countries themselves, a true peace policy. *The principal thing necessary for this is the joint action of the French and British proletariat.*

* * *

But how was the Spanish people able to accomplish the miracle of holding out for two years against the allied forces of two imperialist powers, although the latter were directly or indirectly supported by the attitude of the bourgeois-democratic governments? The only answer is that made by José Diaz, who in the tragic days of Madrid said: "There is no miracle of Madrid. Nor is there a miracle of the Spanish people. *Madrid held out because the whole population understood that it had to hold out. And the Spanish people is holding out today because it knows why it must hold out.*"

When the war began, the Republicans had no machine guns. They charged the enemy's machine guns in motor trucks, to capture them, and the survivors then turned them against the enemy. They defended themselves against tanks by throwing themselves flat on the ground when they approached and disabling them with hand grenades. And when they had no hand grenades, they used bottles of gasoline. Since they had no anti-aircraft guns, they shot down the enemy planes with rifles. And when they had nothing at all they hurried out with their naked hands to the gates of Madrid to form a protecting wall for the capital with their own bodies. And that is how Madrid was saved. That is how many victories were won where the odds were ten to one against them.

By sending tremendous quantities of troops and war materials the fascists succeeded in breaking through the Aragon front, cutting Republican Spain in two and creating a grave situation. But how did the Spanish people react? By bending new efforts and by a new mobilization of all its inexhaustible sources of aid, its revolutionary enthusiasm, its heroism. The poorly armed and poorly trained party militia of 1936 was able to bring the fascists' assault on Madrid to a stop. In 1938 the people of Spain is able to do much more. Today Spain has a united government, which enjoys the support of all sections of the people and is waging a real struggle against the people's enemies. Today Spain has a regular army, a great people's army with a unified command, which is the admira-

tion of the world. The Spain of today has reorganized its industry, banishing craft egotism and manifestations of disorganization. It has stimulated the productive enthusiasm of the masses, while the two great trade union organizations, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T., are working in close harmony. It has improved the conditions of the rural population. It has established a strong proletarian united front: Communists and Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans united in a firm People's Front, filled with a single common will—*to win the war.*

All this is the result of the political mobilization of the masses by thousands upon thousands of meetings and demonstrations which have raised their political consciousness to a higher level and have steeled their faith in victory. This is also expressed in the establishment of powerful organizations,* into which the masses are streaming because they want to support the government in a more direct, more effective, manner in the accomplishment of this single task: *winning the war.* It is due to the tremendous political work of the commissars in the army that the party militias have been converted into a mighty people's army. It is due to this intensive political work that the masses of Anarchist toilers have been transformed. Whereas they formerly were irreconcilably opposed to any government, they are represented in the government today; whereas they formerly were in favor of the militia, today they are an inseparable part of the people's army. It is due to this political work that they have become a part of the *political bloc of struggle against fascism.*

The Communist Party of Spain, which considers the supreme guiding line of its policy to be the placing of the general interests of the people, the cause of unity of all anti-fascist forces, above everything else at every instant of the struggle and under all circumstances, has played a tremendous part in this great work of political mobilization of the masses. This was again expressed only a short while ago, when in the hour of danger Premier Negrin appointed Jesus Hernandez, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party and former Minister of Education, as political commissar-general under General Miaja, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the center. The Spanish people was also able to fight, to endure, and to fulfill the expectations of all the oppressed of the world in such a manner because the example that it gave to the world also produced international solidarity, the highest form of which was the aid rendered by the International Brigades, the volunteers of freedom. As soon as the reports of the unequal struggle being waged by the Spanish people spread throughout the world, the feeling of proletarian internationalism caused the desire to rise in the hearts of millions in all countries, men of all ages, of all political groups, of all religions, and all races, to hasten to the aid of the Spanish people in the clear realization that their own freedom, the destiny of their own country, was at stake on the other side of the Pyrenees.

Finally, the Spanish people was able to fight so magnificently chiefly because of the love and support offered it by the great people of the Soviet Union, which all peoples can always count upon as their strongest support in their struggle for freedom. One must have seen how the eyes of soldiers, women, and even little children, light up with gratitude and joy when they hear the words "la Union Sovietica" and "el pueblo russo." The feeling is very deeply anchored in the Spanish people *that the Spanish Republic has to thank the Soviet Union for very much indeed.*

"The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of Spaniards, but the com-

* The Communist Party, which had 20,000 members in October, 1934, and 117,000 when the war started, now has a membership of 300,000. The United Socialist Party of Catalonia has 60,000 members. The United Socialist Youth has 500,000. The U.G.T., now the biggest trade union organization, has 2,000,000 members, while the C.N.T. has more than 1,000,000.

mon cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." The Spanish people has understood what duties and what responsibility to history lie in these words of the great Stalin. And for that reason, too, it has held the banner of struggle high down to the present day.

The campaign of international solidarity for Spain, the material sacrifices made by the toilers of all countries, the shipments of tremendous amounts of food, medicines, ambulances, etc., from all corners of the world were magnificent, and it is absolutely necessary that they be increased even more. But the hour demands more than that. It is not enough to prevent starvation and to heal the wounds; it is necessary to give the Spanish people the opportunity of *winning quickly* so that there be no more dead, no more wounded, and no more starvation! It is necessary to force the governments to change their policy toward Spain; we must put an end to the disastrous and shameful policy of capitulation to the fascist aggressors.

But to do this the principal thing that is necessary is *to effect the unity of action of the proletariat in every single country as well as internationally.* Unfortunately, the leaders of the Socialist and Labor International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions have stubbornly rejected up to the present all the proposals of this sort made by Comrade Dimitroff and the Communist International.

In September, 1935, Comrade Dimitroff pointed out the way in his letter to the Socialist and Labor International:

"The joint action of the two Internationals will mobilize the working class and draw with it the peace forces of the other classes of the population. It would bring whole nations on the scene for the struggle for peace. It would unleash so powerful a world movement against war that the League of Nations would be compelled under its pressure to take effective steps against the aggression of Italian fascism and German fascism."

This warning was written at a time when Ethiopia was still free. Today it is no longer free. Comrade Dimitroff's call was not listened to by the leaders of the Socialist International. Comrade Dimitroff has repeated his appeal untiringly since then. But the leaders of the Socialist International, who call themselves labor leaders, have rejected it time and again. They have rejected cooperation in the most fateful moments experienced by the Spanish people: on November 7, 1936, when Madrid was threatened to fall victim to the attack of the fascist bandits; in March, 1937, when the Italian Guadalajara offensive was under way; and again in July, 1937, when Bilbao fell. Time and again they have rejected it.

And today they are silent. On May 1, 1936, the Communist International renewed its appeal and in the moving call issued by Comrade Dimitroff recently he again emphasized: *It is still not too late* to foil the bloody plans of fascism. The fascist warmongers can still be crushed. The fascist aggressors must be isolated internationally. It is necessary to pursue a consistent policy of peace. It is necessary to effect the unity of action of the world proletariat. It is necessary to establish a firm and indissoluble alliance between the united international working class and the great Soviet people.

The fate of Spain, the fate of world peace, the fate of all advanced and progressive mankind, are at stake.

The Struggle to Establish a Democratic Peace Front in England

BY R. PAGE ARNOT

THE fascist attack is being pressed in every country. The fascist press forward their attack on peace and on the democratic rights of the peoples, using for this end not only open and hidden propaganda but also war, military occupation, organizing *coups d'etat* and conspiracies, espionage and "fifth columns" (including the Trotskyist espionage groups).

But the fury of the attack has aroused and is rousing resistance in every country of the world. With each advance of fascism the working class and the masses of the working people in every country are stimulated to build more rapidly the united proletarian front and the People's Front of struggle against fascism and war. In the countries where fascism is actually waging war or on which the threat of attack of fascism is most immediate a still wider national united front is actually achieved or has been put on the order of the day.

This whole sharpening of the international struggle has shown itself also in Great Britain especially in these last few weeks. The treacherous policy of the Chamberlain government during these last years was masked by talk of peace and "appeasement" in Europe, the object of this pretense being to delude the masses and to disorganize the ranks of the supporters of peace and democracy. But now, with the events from February-March onwards (Berchtesgaden ultimatum, resignation of Eden and the Anglo-Italian agreement to strangle Spain, annexation of Austria, factual support of Hitler's threat to Czechoslovakia, etc.), the pretense has been seen through more and more by the masses in Britain: and this clearer realization of the danger has stimulated in April the movement towards a democratic front of peace in Great Britain.

* * *

The threat of fascism to the peace of the world and to the democratic liberties of the peoples could not have developed but for the tacit or express support accorded it by the most reactionary circles in the capitalist countries, especially the pro-fascist cliques of the Tory Party in Britain. The threat of fascism remains because the British government wishes it to remain. The whole infernal hells' broth of fascist aggression would vanish but for the support of British imperialism which lends it a dreadful reality.

Hitler fascism could not have lasted out the year 1933 but for the support it received from the British National government. The rearming of fascist Germany from 1933 onwards was carried out with the help of money from the British finance oligarchy and munitions from the British armament trusts. It was the British National government, the guardian of the Versailles Treaty, which took no steps when Hitler broke successive clauses of that treaty and other such treaties (introducing of conscription, military occupation of the Rhineland, denunciation of Locarno, stoppage

of reparations, building of an airfleet, building of submarines, etc., etc.). The British government took no steps, it further prevented its allies of Versailles from taking any steps, it even concluded behind their backs special agreements such as the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of the Spring of 1935.

It was not the U.S.A. in its period of extremest aloofness from Geneva which undermined the system of Versailles. Still less was it the U.S.S.R., whose standpoint was clearly put by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., when he said: "It is not for us, who have experienced the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, to sing the praises of the Versailles Treaty. We merely do not agree to the world being flung into the throes of a new war for the sake of this treaty," * that undermined the system of Versailles. The undermining was done within the bloc of the victors of Versailles, and by the most powerful members of the bloc. It was the government of British imperialism which was instrumental in destroying that bloc based on the Treaty of Versailles. It was the National government which hastened to Hitler's aid immediately after the burning of the Reichstag with its proposal of a Four-Power-Pact (Britain, Germany, Italy, France); and which thereafter allowed everything to Hitler which it had denied to the Weimar Republic. The English proverb would put it: "Hitler could steal a horse from the field where Weimar would be imprisoned for looking over the hedge."

From first to last it is the National government which by its support of Germany, Italy and Japan has been responsible for the growth of fascism and the danger to world peace. The events of this year, following on the criminal farce of "non-intervention" in Spain, have shown this beyond a doubt. The dropping of Eden meant the dropping of the mask: and the clear face of British imperialist policy has been shown in the negotiations with Mussolini (the pledge to withdraw Italian troops is to apply "when the civil war is over") and in the *carte blanche* given to Hitler over Austria and Czechoslovakia.

What is the cause of the pro-fascist policy of the National government? Why does Chamberlain pursue a policy so obviously opposed to the interests of the British people? The first interest of the British people is the maintenance of peace. The peace of the world can only be maintained if the democratic powers are welded together in a peace front with the Soviet Union, thereby curbing the fascist aggressors. But this for the Chamberlain government constitutes a greater evil than the risk of war: for with fascism curbed and peace preserved the way would be open for an extension of the People's Front, for the struggle of the oppressed classes, for their interests within the democratic framework and therefore within Britain for a fight with those very interests which Chamberlain represents, the interests of a handful of millionaires, monopolists and big landlords. Hence behind a deceptive smokescreen of peace talk, Chamberlain prepares by a huge rearmament program for a big war, and meantime dickers with the fascist aggressors and sabotages all measures of collective security.

Thereby Chamberlain encourages the war plans of the fascist aggressors, hampers the self-defense of peace-loving peoples and endangers also the existence of the British nation. But this risk Chamberlain takes rather than risk the growth of democratic rights, the liberation of peoples or the advance of the working class movement. For the millionaire money-lenders and monopolists of London look to the three fascist powers as their Cerberus, their watchdog against the working class in Europe and against every progressive movement throughout the world.

Hence Chamberlain, through his under-cover man Flandin and with the help of the French reactionaries, seeks to

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* *Socialism Victorious*, p. 20, International Publishers, New York.

break the Front Populaire in France and to form a "National Government" there. But the contrary tendency exists to widen the Front Populaire, to extend it to include Reynaud and Mandel; and thereby on a still broader basis to keep the gains of the mass of the people and to act unfettered by Chamberlain, and to give the needed aid to Spain.

Aid to Spain is now seen ever more clearly to be in the interests not only of the mass of the French people, who passionately desire to defend democracy and peace, as well as the safety of the French frontier against fascism but also in the interests of a section of the French bourgeoisie who fear the loss of colonies and of much invested capital were Franco to win, were Germany and Italy to make Spain their colony. Undoubtedly it is a serious situation now for the Spanish Republic. But this moment of danger has been met by a consolidation of forces, by an increase of the People's Army (with 100,000 volunteers) and by a strengthening of munitions, transport and other means of war.

Chamberlain knows well the risks entailed by his pro-fascist policy which, in leading to war, leads also to the question "war against whom?" Chamberlain's calculation is to divert German aggression away from the colonies and against Czechoslovakia, the Balkans and the U.S.S.R.

Thus the whole policy of Chamberlain is to make Britain a participant in the international fascist conspiracy for war, directed not only against the Spanish, Austrian and Chinese peoples, but above all against Czechoslovakia, France and the Soviet Union and therewith also directly against the security and vital interests of the British people.

But the opposition to this National government is growing rapidly. Even a section of the Tory party expresses itself against a policy so treacherous and so adventurous. The vast demonstrations and meetings in the last two months in Britain go to show that the great majority of the British people are in favor of collective security against the policy of Chamberlain. This opposition shows itself also in the overseas possessions and in a way never before known. It is a thing unprecedented for Australian trade union leaders to telegraph a London newspaper their repudiation of Chamberlain's policy. The Prime Minister of the Dominion of New Zealand, Savage, has publicly declared this last month his disagreement with the Chamberlain policy. In mid-February the Indian National Congress at its Fifty-first Session at Haripura passed anti-fascist resolutions in one of which it was said that British foreign policy "has consistently supported the fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East," and that it is "helping in the drift to imperialist world war"; while another resolution expressed solidarity with the Chinese people and called on the people of India to boycott Japanese goods.

It is clear that the opposition to the Chamberlain policy exists throughout the Empire as well as in Great Britain.

* * *

In Great Britain itself there has been a big development of a movement for an anti-fascist People's Front. The opposition to the policy of the National government, strongly manifested since early February, increased very rapidly in the second part of the month of April. The most significant indications of this were:

1. The annual conference of the Co-operative Party, April 16-17.

2. All-Party National Emergency Conference on Spain, April 23.

3. Sundry decisions of national trade unions in mid-April.

1. The Cooperative Party formed at the end of the imperialist war, though an independent organization, has always acted up till now in full political solidarity with the Labor Party, of which it has been regarded as a "junior partner." There is a handful of Cooperative M.P.'s. Several cooperators were chosen as ministers in the last Labor government, but in no way were they differentiated from the other Labor ministers in their po-

litical standpoint except in a certain emphasis on questions affecting the trading interests of the cooperative societies. In the last two years there has arisen an organizational difference between the chiefs of the Labor Party and the chiefs of the Cooperative Party concerning questions of finance, elections of Parliamentary seats, organizational relations (should the Cooperative Party become an affiliated section of the Labor Party like, for example, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, or should it retain its autonomy?). But in all this there was no hint of political differences in relation to the policy to be pursued towards the National government.

On March 20, however, this year the editor of *Reynolds News* (a Sunday paper owned by the Cooperative movement) published a manifesto calling for a United Peace Alliance for the defeat of Chamberlain to include Labor, Trade Union, Cooperative and Communist supporters together with all democratic and peace forces. Thereafter the paper carried on a campaign for this proposal which aroused widespread discussion throughout the working class. On April 17 at the Annual Conference of the Cooperative Party in direct contradiction to the Labor Party Executive Committee's attitude of "no Popular Front" the following resolution was carried by 2,343,000 votes to 1,547,000:

"This annual conference of the Cooperative Party representing Cooperators in Great Britain, having considered the proposals outlined in recent issues of *Reynolds News* for a United Peace Alliance, declares that, in view of the grave international situation, the dangers of a world war, fascist dictatorship, aggression encouraged by the foreign policy of the present government, it is essential to replace the government at the earliest opportunity if peace is to be secured and the rights of democracy in Britain safeguarded.

"The conference instructs the National Committee of the Party to approach the Labor Party to discuss ways and means of replacing the present government at the earliest possible moment."

It should be noted that while seven of the nine Members of Parliament of the Cooperative Party opposed this resolution it was sponsored by the National Committee. Secondly, it should be noted that the disciplinary machinery of the Cooperative Party has never been so strongly developed as that of the Labor Party and therefore gives a better possibility for the mood of the masses to find expression. Thirdly, the conference represented 5,500,000 Cooperators, as was ruefully acknowledged by the *Daily Herald* (the organ of Citrine), while in the Labor Party there are two million members and the T.U.C. four millions.

2. On April 6 on receipt of information as to the serious position in Spain a group of M.P.'s of all parties sent out a call for an emergency national conference in aid of Spain to be held on April 23. The signatories of the call included:

C. R. Attlee, leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal Party.

Miss Megal Lloyd George, daughter of Lloyd George who was not in Britain.

The Duchess of Atholl, Conservative, and former Conservative Minister.

Mr. Harold Nicolson, leading member of the National Labor Party.

A. V. Alexander, leading member of the Cooperative Party.

Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, daughter of the late Prime Minister Asquith.

The Bishop of Chelmsford.

Within barely a fortnight of the first announcement of the conference no less than 1,203 organizations accredited 1,806 delegates. The organizations included 258 trade union organizations, 236 Labor Party together with Cooperative, Communist, Liberal and peace organizations.

The conference, according to newspaper reports, showed enthusiastic support for the idea of a People's Front in the form of an alliance of all progressive forces "for the object of saving Spain, Britain and peace"; furthermore that within ten days the delegates have to report back to the organizers of the Conference as to the practical steps taken to

carry out the conference decisions. In addition to this the trade union delegates present chose a deputation to ask the Trade Union Congress General Council to consider the immediate calling of a conference of trade union executives officially empowered to take united trade union action in aid of Spain. The deputation included the veteran trade unionists Ben Tillet and Tom Mann as well as Jack Tanner, executive member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

The resolution passed by the conference was as follows:

"The members of this conference record their inflexible determination by immediate action through their respective organizations, to secure freedom for the Spanish government to purchase arms in defense of its people.

"Believing that not only the strategic safety of France, Great Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the salvation of democracy itself depends upon victory for the Spanish government, we pledge ourselves:

"1. The use of every means at our disposal to rouse public opinion in support of the demands of the Spanish government to be placed before the League of Nations on May 9.

"2. To give and secure support for every effort to supply food, transport medical equipment, coal and anti-aircraft guns or for any other financial and material assistance necessary to secure the victory of the Spanish government.

"3. To support any political, economic and industrial action which may be taken in support of these objects.

"Among the means to this end we decide to send from this conference delegations to the Trade Union Congress, the Liberal and Labor Parties, the National government and the French government to bring their urgent attention to the unanimous demands of this conference."

3. Of the standpoint adopted by individual trade unions perhaps the most significant are: (a) the Amalgamated Engineering Union; (b) the Shop Assistants; (c) the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. The A.E.U. has refused to collaborate with the government in its arms program as long as the present foreign policy continues (the A.E.U. is the key union of the war industry). This union has also issued a moving appeal to its members to give their spare time and their skill in voluntary industrial aid for Spain.

The Shop Assistants at their annual conference on April 18 pledged themselves wholeheartedly to support the proposed Peace Alliance, second, pressed the Trade Union Congress to carry on negotiations with Soviet trade unions with a view to international trade union unity. Third, asked the National Executive of the Labor Party to meet the Central Committee of the Communist Party with a view to breaking down the barriers in the way of affiliation. Fourth, asked the National Council of Labor to impose an embargo on Japanese goods.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain called a special conference on Spain on April 29 and decided there:

1. To gather a fund of one hundred thousand tons of coal (£50,000) to be sent to the Spanish Republic;

2. To request the Trade Union Congress General Council to call a special conference on the present international emergency.

This widespread movement in favor of setting up an anti-fascist People's Front has been met by the fiercest opposition from the reactionary leaders of Labor, The Labor Party Executive Committee meeting on April 13 found that it could not put a ban on the conference called for April 23 and was forced to limit itself to the issue of a manifesto declaring against the People's Front.

Following on the manifesto a fierce campaign was carried on in the name of "Socialism" against connections with non-Socialists. The campaign was led by Right-wing reactionaries assisted by the I.L.P. (penetrated by Trotskyist influences) and by the *Times* (organ of the Cliveden clique). The *Daily Herald* for over a week carried on a campaign of articles each day which were each day answered by the *Daily Worker* and on some days by the *New Chronicle* and the *Manchester Guardian.* This news-

paper duel was unprecedented and meant that the reactionaries had been forced to come out into the open.

Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, refused to receive the deputation of leading Trade Unionists appointed by the All-Party Emergency Conference Trade Union Fraction on April 23 (at which conference H. H. Elvin, Chairman of the Trade Union Congress had presided), on the ground that "it was an unofficial body" thus showing that a gentle knight could throw into the shade a stiff court etiquette of Bourbons and Hapsburgs.

The General Council replied to the request of many organizations for a special conference by sending a letter to all trade union executives, in which it asked what useful purpose could such a conference serve and what more could it achieve than had already been done by the T.U.C. General Council. (The T.U.C. has collected £60,000 for Spain, which is not a quarter of that collected by the "unofficial bodies" to whom Sir Walter Citrine would not grant an audience.) It must have been a source of chagrin to the Right-wing reactionaries in the General Council to discover that several large trade unions such as the A.E.U. replied immediately supporting the demand for the conference.

The significance of the last events in Great Britain is very great. It means that the ice is broken. It was clear to everyone that in the present world situation the British working class and the masses of the British people were bound to be set in motion. But for this actually to take place the obdurate resistance of the Right-wing reactionary leaders had to be overcome.

But the breaking of the ice is not yet everything: nor will there be some automatic continuation of this process. Moreover the reactionaries will do their utmost to get everything frozen over again. Therefore it is necessary to send in the ice-breakers. It is necessary that the struggle for working class unity, for the unity of all supporters of democracy and peace be maintained and developed.

It is necessary for the Cooperative Party to carry forward its standpoint for a peace alliance to the point where the masses of Cooperators are consciously fighting for this. It is necessary that in the forthcoming congresses of sections of the British Labor movement there should be a continuous wider rallying of support and no opportunity should be let slip, no chance given to the reactionaries to force a backward step.

If the significance of the present situation resulting from the recent events is driven home effectively throughout the working class and the mass of the people of Britain, then it will be possible to look forward to the early building up of a wide democratic front of peace in Britain, united in struggle against fascism and war and against the pro-fascist Chamberlain government.

Marxism and Austrian Independence

BY PETER WIDEN

THE military conquest of Austria by German imperialism has roused the deepest hatred of the brown-shirted conquerors in the masses of the Austrian people. The bitterness against the German officials and jailers, who seized all posts of command and brought with them a retinue of secretaries, adjutants, and little lady friends, reaches far into the ranks of the Austrian National-Socialists. In the prisons and concentration camps today, alongside the Communists, Socialists and Catholics, there now are Austrian Nazis, who imagined "Anschluss" would be different, and whose Pan-German illusions cannot be brought into harmony with the unflattering reality of military conquest and unashamed foreign rule. To adapt a phrase of Friedrich Engels on the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, the occupation of Austria was a "*coup de force simply by virtue of force.*"

Though hopes for economic improvement may temporarily overshadow other feelings in a few small sections of the Austrian people, and though the incorporation of Austria in Germany's war economy and the resulting employment of the unemployed may temporarily influence the feelings of some groups, *hatred of foreign rule and the longing for independence are the underlying feelings of the Austrian people.*

The brown-shirted conquerors realize this. They know that Austria is *occupied territory,* enemy country, and they act accordingly. They do not even trust their Austrian party comrades; Seyss-Inquart and his men were put off with sonorous titles, but the *de facto* master of Austria is Buerckel, the "plenipotentiary of the Fuehrer," the German governor. Almost all the politicians, officials and functionaries who had roots in the Austrian people were persecuted, jailed, and exterminated because the conquerors feared every man in whom even a tiny bit of Austria was personified. At the same time the conquerors endeavor to pose before the masses of the people as the fulfillers of 1848, the executors of "revolutionary demands," the "unifiers" and "liberators of the German nation." They do not hesitate to call upon the names of those revolutionaries who, like Marx and Engels, advocated a Greater Germany in the name of the revolution; they clothe their warmongering imperialism in the colors of the long-past "Greater German Revolution."

THE "AUSTRO-MARXISTS" AS CHIEF WITNESSES FOR THE BROWN-SHIRTED CONQUERORS

This historical desecration by the brown-shirted imperialists is supported by the leaders of the collapsed Austrian Social-Democracy. Karl Renner and Otto Bauer come forward as the chief witnesses for the Nazis' falsification of history. Before the so-called "plebiscite" in Austria Karl Renner published an article in the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* in which he praised the conquest of Austria as the fulfilment of old Social-Democratic demands. He stated that he was not in accord with the methods, to be sure, but that nevertheless he would vote "yes" and he called upon his friends also to

vote for Anschluss to Hitler-Germany.

This disgraceful declaration was fabricated in *Vienna:* it may be true that Renner submitted to the Nazis' pressure out of cowardice, denying his past in order to assure his future. The statement fabricated by Otto Bauer in *Bratislava*, of his own free will, and far from the brown-shirted terror, proves that *the betrayal of the Austrian working class and of the Austrian people by the Austro-Marxist leaders* goes deeper, that its roots reach deeper than personal weakness and incompetence. After the occupation of Austria Otto Bauer wrote the following in the *Kampf:*

"But Austria has been. Austrian Clericals and Monarchists may found committees abroad which day-dream of the restoration of an Austrian state; they may imagine they can organize an Austrian irredenta! That is child's play. Austrian Socialism, which is scattered today and which will arise again tomorrow, cannot take a *reactionary*, but only a *revolutionary* attitude to the *fait accompli* of the Third Reich's annexation of Austria. We cannot turn back the wheel of world history. Only Germany's defeat in a war could tear Austria away from the Reich again; but any defeat of Germany in war would unleash the German revolution, and Socialism would not tear Austria away from the German revolution. Hence the future of the Austrian working class does not lie in an Austrian separatism."

Thus the Austrian people's struggle for self-determination and for its independence is not revolutionary, but reactionary, according to the theoretician of "Austro-Marxism." This astounding theoretician preaches that one must take a "revolutionary" attitude toward the conquest of Austria by brown-shirted imperialism, *i.e.*, one must acknowledge it to be progressive, one must—as Renner phrased it—reject Hitler's methods but in the last analysis approve the "Anschluss" effected by force. This theory of treason to the Austrian working class and to the fundamentals of Marxism was joyfully incorporated into their agitation by the Nazis, and many reactionary leaders of the Second International have seized upon it eagerly to justify their policy of blindly following the British Conservatives. True to Otto Bauer's instructions, they can take a "revolutionary" attitude toward the *fait accompli* of the occupation of Austria, doing so in the most convenient fashion: they need only acknowledge the invasion of Austria by German imperialism with a shrug of their shoulders. Citrine and his friends could never have expected to assume a "revolutionary" attitude without the slightest effort or self-denial. Otto Bauer has made this possible for them.

Otto Bauer likes to deck out his thoroughly petty-bourgeois and un-Marxist attitude with "revolutionary" phrases and quotations from Marx and Engels torn out of their contexts. His standpoint on the national question in general, and on the Pan-German question in particular, has always been petty-bourgeois and un-Marxist; hence it becomes openly *counter-revolutionary* in decisive class-struggle situations. Turn and twist it as you will: recognizing the occupation of Austria, branding the struggle for independence as "separatism," stating that this struggle of the Austrian people is "reactionary," are *open support of brown-shirted imperialism*, openly counter-revolutionary.

As always, Otto Bauer cites Marx and Engels. Clutching at words and ignoring their essence, like a real petty-bourgeois dogmatist, Otto Bauer points out that in 1848 and later Marx and Engels aimed at the union of Germans and German-Austrians into a Greater German Reich. Hence, our dogmatist concludes, Greater Germany is set for us as an immovable goal. Our dogmatist makes no effort to investigate the historical situation in which Marx and Engels, like all revolutionaries, were for Greater Germany, to learn why the struggle for Greater Germany was revolutionary in 1848 and was still progressive in 1871, for what reasons the founders of Marxism adopted the Greater German demand, and in what light they viewed the question of the

German nation in particular and the national question in general. Like a narrow-minded doctrinaire, Otto Bauer states: "Marx and Engels said . . . and every word they said holds good under all circumstances." But we do not want to do Otto Bauer and his friends an injustice: they always considered the *fundamental* doctrines of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat "conditioned by their time"; in return, the fighting political slogans of the great masters that *were conditioned by their time* baceme incontestable doctrines.

IRELAND, ALSACE-LORRAINE— AND AUSTRIA

Before we briefly set forth the complete change in the political situation since 1848, as well as since 1871, and the wholly new situation that has arisen through the victory of fascism in Germany, let us illustrate by two examples the spirit in which Marx and Engels took a stand on national questions and in what light they treated national questions.

At the beginning Karl Marx was not an advocate of *Irish* independence, but a thorough study of the Irish problem led him to the demand that the British working class must support the struggle of the Irish people for its independence with all its means. He wrote:

"I have become more and more convinced—and the only question is to bring this conviction home to the English working class—that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland in the most definite way from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish, but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And, indeed, this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland, but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat."

"Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Workingmen's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent."

"Hence the task of the 'International' is everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. The special task of the Central Council in London is to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the *national emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sympathy but the first conditions of *their own emancipation.*"

Thus we see that Karl Marx viewed the question of Irish independence solely *from the standpoint of the revolutionary movement.* He became convinced that the "decisive blow against the ruling classes in England" could be delivered by the struggle for Irish independence—and that it therefore was one of the most important tasks of the British working class and of the International to place the struggle for the independence of Ireland in the foreground everywhere. Karl Marx was an advocate of national unification wherever this unification resulted in a better and wider battlefield for the revolutionary movement. He was for the struggle for independence wherever this struggle was apt to weaken the ruling class and to undermine the foundations of its rule.

It may be that Otto Bauer concedes to far-off Ireland what he denies to Austria, which is closer at hand; let us see, therefore, the stand that Friedrich Engels took on a question of the German Reich, *the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine.* In his article "Force and Economics in the Establishment of the New German Empire" Engels writes as follows on the German-speaking people of Alsace:

"In no part of France did the people join in the revolution more enthusiastically than in the German-speaking area. And when the German Reich declared war on the revolution, when the Germans not only wore their own chains obediently, but in addition allowed themselves to be employed to re-impose the old subjection upon the French and the scarcely expelled feudal lords upon the

Alsatian peasants, the Germanness of the Alsatians and Lorrainers was through. They learned to hate and despise the Germans; the *Marseillaise* was written and composed in Strassburg and first sung by Alsatians; the German-French grew into one people with the national Frenchmen on hundreds of battlefields in the struggle for the revolution, despite language and past history. . . .

"When the Allies marched in in 1814 they met with the most resolute hostility, the most violent resistance within the people itself precisely in Alsace and German Lorraine, for here the people felt the danger of having to become German again. And yet German was still spoken there almost exclusively. . . .

"That is the country which Bismarck and the Prussian Junkers, supported by the rebirth of a chauvinist romanticism which is, it seems, inseparable from all German problems, ventured to make German again. . . . Aside from the fact that the Prussians despise such revolutionary measures for very good reasons [Engels had previously mentioned the plebiscite held by Napoleon III in Nice] —nowhere has the mass of the people ever demanded annexation to Prussia, they knew only too well that precisely here the population was more unanimously attached to France than the national Frenchmen themselves. And so they executed the *coup de force* simply by virtue of force. . . ."

This German-speaking, but "Anschluss"-rejecting country was occupied by the German military and forcibly annexed to the German Empire—yet, differing from Otto Bauer, Friedrich Engels did not recognize this occupation as a "*fait accompli*" nor call such recognition in any way "revolutionary." He was so "reactionary" as to approve of the Alsatians' struggle for separation from Germany and to place revolutionary considerations above community of language and the like. For the question was otherwise in 1871 than in 1848; the occupation of Alsace by Bismarck's German Empire was something else than a free union of Alsace with a Greater German Republic forged in the fire of revolution. And in contradistinction to Otto Bauer, who lectures like a university professor remote from the world that the struggle for the independence of Austria is senseless because the coming revolution will unite Austria and Germany anyhow, Marx supported the struggle of independence of the Irish, and Engels approved of the struggle of Alsatians against occupation because precisely this struggle *was an important element in the revolutionary movement.* Who can deny that the very struggle of the Austrian people for its independence is an essential element in the revolutionary movement against Hitler, that this struggle, which unites the workers and peasants, the Socialists and the Catholics of Austria into one democratic front of Austrians, increases the difficulties of the Hitler regime, and *that this struggle is one of the most important means of hastening the revolution in Germany.* Even Otto Bauer cannot completely close his eyes to this insight when he speaks of the fact that the conditions for struggle are somewhat more favorable in Austria than in the territory of the former Reich:

". . . for coordination will meet with greater resistance in Austria than in the German provinces, which were united into one Reich as early as 1871, and the dictatorial rule of the Nazis from the Reich, who immediately seized all the important posts of command in Austria, will very soon be felt by the Austrian people as a foreign rule."

FROM OTTO BAUER'S "NATION" TO ADOLF HITLER'S "RACE"

Thus, though it begins to dawn upon Otto Bauer that the struggle of the Austrian people is aimed not only against social oppression, but against national oppression and foreign rule as well, his petty-bourgeois romantic theory of nationalities succeeds in portraying the conquest of Austria by German imperialism as nevertheless progressive in the last analysis. Here we see how a false and ruinous theory of "Austro-Marxism," the *"Austro-Marxist" theory of nationalities,* turns directly into counter-revolutionary practice. Karl Renner, in his book *The Struggle of the Austrian*

Nations for the State, defines the nation as an "association of persons thinking and speaking alike, a cultural community of modern persons who are no longer bound to the soil." Otto Bauer, in his book *The Nationality Problem and Social-Democracy,* defines the nation as a "relative community of character," as the "sum total of persons bound together by a common character on the basis of a common destiny." In this theory the nation is separated from the basis upon which it lives, separated from all economic and state relationships; it floats in the air and becomes a romantic formation in the clouds. Hence it is no accident that Otto Bauer calls the Jews a nation, and that for him the German nation, like any other nation, is not something concrete, something historically evolved, but "something mystical, intangible, and transcendental," as Comrade Stalin pointed out in his book *Marxism and the National Question. A direct road leads from this romantic theory of nationalities of the Austro-Marxists to the fake race theory, of the National-Socialists,* to the unrestrained chauvinism of the German imperialists. With Hitler and Rosenberg Otto Bauer's Jewish "nation" materializes as the Jewish "race," and the mystical "German nation" of the Austro-Marxists, bound by no state frontiers, floating over land and sea, becomes the mystical, indefinable "German nation," which brown-shirted imperialism finds wherever it so pleases. In 1859 Engels characterized the great-power dreams of national mystics in his controversial essay *Po and Rhine* as follows:

"The 'central European great power' is supposed to be a sort of renaissance of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and it seems to have the purpose, among others, of incorporating the former Austrian Netherlands, as well as Holland, as vassal states."

What was a vague dream at that time is now brown-shirted "Realpolitik"—and it is no accident that the Nazis, in their imperialist Pan-German agitation, are beginning to make use of the statements of Austrian Social-Democrats. According to Karl Renner's and Otto Bauer's theory not only the Austrians but the Sudeten Germans, the German-speaking Swiss, the German-speaking Transylvanians, the German-speaking Alsatians, and finally even the Flemish and the Dutch can be considered part of the German nation. In this way German imperialism is justified by Social-Democratic theory. Who is to determine finally where "relative community of character" begins and where it ends, and whether this "relative community of character" between the Viennese and the Prussians is greater or less than between the Zurichers and the Wuerttembergers? According to Otto Bauer this "relative community of character" between a Jew of the London City and a Jew of the Caucasian mountains is so great that they belong to a common nation; according this theory Hitler could also say that the Scandinavians belong to the German nation. We see that Karl Renner's and Otto Bauer's theory of nationalities leads to the infinite—at any rate it has led to both of them recognizing the occupation of Austria as "national union."

WHY WERE MARX AND ENGELS FOR GREATER GERMANY?

Now what of the attitude of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels toward Greater Germany, continually cited by Otto Bauer and his friends? Their attitude toward the Irish and Alsation questions showed us that they *always considered national movements from the standpoint of the general revolutionary movement.* In 1848 the demand for a Greater Germany was a *revolutionary* demand. It was aimed against the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns, against the 36 dynasties who hindered the development of modern productive forces in Germany, the democratic development of the German people. It was aimed against feudal backwardness and the miserable spirit of servility that was fostered by German provincialism and the German petty state.

The interests of European and Ger-

man development required that the development of England and France be caught up with in Germany and that the big and little gendarmes who kept the German people in dull, narrow confines be chased out. In the name of the revolution Marx and Engels were for Greater Germany, for the Greater German Republic. The German revolution could overcome German wretchedness and unite the German people just as the English and French revolutions welded the people into a nation in the struggle for democracy and independence. The nation was not an end in itself; the nation had to arise in order to participate vigorously in the revolutionary work of human development.

When the Revolution of 1848 collapsed without fusing Germany into a unit in its fire, Marx and Engels did not renounce the idea of Greater Germany. They continued to fight for German unity, not because the nation was for them something mystical and unconditional, something to be striven for at any price, but because of extremely realistic revolutionary considerations. They fought for German unity because the division of Germany aided feudal-bureaucratic rule, prevented the development of productive forces and revolutionary class forces, and hindered the rise of a great German labor movement. In his article, "Force and Economics in the Establishment of a New German Empire," Engels pointed out that the German bourgeoisie's longing for a united "fatherland" possessed a very material basis:

"It was the longing of the practical merchants and industrialists, surging up out of immediate business needs, for the clearing away of all the historically obsolete trappings of the petty state which stood in the way of the free development of trade and industry, for the elimination of all the superfluous friction which the German business man first had to overcome at home when he wanted to enter the world market and from which all of his competitors were freed. German unity had become an economic necessity."

It was a question of incorporating Germany in world economy, and in world politics as well. The tsar in Russia and Napoleon III in France were at that time the principal enemies of every revolutionary movement, the gendarmes of Europe; alongside them the Emperor of Austria stood as the third patron of reaction. The unification of Germany was also necessary in the struggle against these three enemies of the revolutionary movement.

"Through repeated usage France and Russia had obtained a right to the division of Germany, just as France and Austria arrogated to themselves a right to see to it that Italy remained divided. . . . Hence the unity of Germany had to be achieved not only against the Princes and other domestic enemies, but against foreign countries as well." (*Ibid.*)

Thus we see how Marx and Engels dealt with the German question in connection with the international situation; *they supported the Greater German movement in order to deal a blow to international reaction: the Tsar, Napoleon, and the Emperor of Austria.* The extent to which they considered the national question from the standpoint of the revolution is also indicated by Engels' reflections on the possible roads toward German unity. The first road was the openly revolutionary road; Engels comments that:

". . . the victorious German revolution could furnish the impetus for the overthrow of the whole French Empire. That was the most favorable case. In the most unfavorable case, if the dynasts got the movement under control, the left bank of the Rhine would be temporarily relinquished to France, the active and passive treason of the dynasts would be exposed to the whole world and a situation of constraint would be created in which there would be no other way out for Germany than revolution, the expulsion of all the princes and the establishment of the united German Republic." (*Ibid.*)

The second road was unification under the dominion of Austria. Why was Engels against this road? Because at that time Austria was "the most reactionary state in Germany, most reluctantly fol-

lowing the modern trend." There remained the third road, unification under Prussian leadership, which led down to "the more solid though rather nasty ground of the practical, of *realpolitik*."

Thus for Marx and Engels general revolutionary interests were always decisive and never national prejudices. What would they have said to the "Marxist" Otto Bauer, who does not place the struggle against Hitler, the weakening of Hitler Germany, and the strengthening of the international front against fascism in the foreground of his reflections, but aids the chauvinism that Hitler cleverly cultivates and calls the struggle for independence and for the separation of Austria "reactionary"?

We have seen what a stand Engels took on the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine by the German Reich. In a circular to the International Marx proclaimed to the world that "the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine makes Russia the arbiter of Europe!" Thus the creators of Marxism did not recognize the "*fait accompli*," but took up the struggle against it because the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine strengthened international reaction. They took notice of the unification of Germany, however, although it was not effected by the revolution, but by Prussian sabres. Why? The answer is plain: *the unification of Germany created the most favorable basis conceivable for the struggle of the German working class.* Even after 1866 Engels wrote in his preface to *The Peasant War in Germany:*

"In all these grand activities of the states, only the following are of particular importance for the German working class:

"First, that universal suffrage has given the workers the power to be directly represented in the legislative assemblies.

"Second, that Prussia has set a good example by swallowing three crowns by the grace of God. That after this operation her own crown is maintained by the grace of God as pure as she claims to be, not even the national liberals believe any more.

"Third, that there is only one serious enemy of the revolution in Germany at the present time—the Prussian government.

"Fourth, that the Austro-Germans will now be compelled to ask themselves what they wish to be, Germans or Austrians. . . ." *

The mighty development of German industry after 1871 led to mighty development of the German labor movement. At that time the German working class became the best trained, the best organized, the internationally leading working class. That was decisive for Marx and Engels; to be sure, German unification by Prussia was incomplete, problematical, and, compared to the revolutionary unification of the British nation or the French, a sorrowful affair, but its general effect was progressive, primarily because it released the forces of the workers and brought to the fore an impetuously growing party of the working class. Marx and Engels spoke with the greatest irony of the "German Empire of the Prussian Nation." They saw the tremendous danger of Prussification instead of general German development. They saw German imperialism and a world war arising behind the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine—and yet they accepted the basis of the new German Empire *because the most modern labor movement was fighting its first victorious battles on this basis.*

THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE— A BLOW AGAINST HITLER

How do things stand today? Today, in the era of decaying capitalism, of imperialism, of fascism, *the slogan "Greater Germany" is nothing but a shield for the filthiest, bloodiest, most rapacious counter-revolution.* The great German labor movement was shattered and driven into illegality. Since 1917 it is no longer the German, but the Russian, working class that stands at the head of

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* Frederick Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, p. 14, International Publishers, New York.

the international labor movement. Tsarism, the French Empire, the Austrian monarchy no longer exist. Hitler Germany has become the shelter of world reaction, the gendarme of Europe. Under Hitler Germany is the most reactionary, the most barbarous state in Europe. The demand for "union of all Germans in the Third Reich" signifies: subjugation of the Austrians, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Swiss, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Danes, and the Lithuanians under German fascism, the destruction of European democracy, and the establishment of a frightful dominion of violence over Europe.

In the struggle against Hitler, against "Anschluss," *a new Austrian national consciousness has arisen* in the masses of the Austrian people, as it once did among the Swiss and the Dutch in the struggle against the Hapsburgs, and among the Alsatians in the struggle against the German counter-revolution. The revolutionary workers of Vienna, who in 1848 were the champions of the idea of Greater Germany, are today the champions of Austrian independence. This transformation reflects the fundamental change in the historical situation. For nations are not, as Otto Bauer thinks, the creatures of a "community of fate" reaching back to the gray dawn of history. Nations are rooted in economic, state, and cultural conditions and are formed in the struggle for freedom and independence.

The Swiss, the Dutch, and the Alsatians once also belonged to the "community of fate" of the so-called Holy Roman Empire of the German nation; they became nations of their own in the struggle against this "community of fate." And if today new national elements of resistance are crystallized in the struggle against Hitler, against subjugation by German imperialism, it is the task of every revolutionary movement to aid and support this process. First of all, it is the task of the revolutionary workers of Germany to distinguish their policy with regard to Austria most decidedly from the policy of the ruling class, and not only to make common cause with the Austrians, but to take the initiative themselves in the struggle for the independence of Austria. And this must be done not as a matter of sympathy with Austria, but as a demand resting on the interests of the proletariat, the interests of all anti-fascists.

Otto Bauer did not approach this question as a Marxist, but as a Pan-German philistine. His stupid jokes about Austrian "separatism" reveal his terrifying lack of understanding of a world invaded by fascism. Fifteen years ago Rhine separatism was doubtless counter-revolutionary in view of the German Republic and French militarism; it lies in the nature of the matter that most of the former separatists have gone over to Hitler in the interim.

Today, in view of Hitler fascism, in view of the French People's Front, autonomist tendencies in the Rhineland or in the Saar would have a quite different character; they might some day attain revolutionary significance. But in Austria matters are still quite different. In the century during which the German nation was formed Austria did not belong to Germany; the Austrian people developed into a nation of their own. The country of Austria was annexed like Alsace-Lorraine in its time; it was deprived of self-determination by force of arms. In the light of these facts, casting suspicion on the struggle for the independence of Austria as "separatism" is not merely nonsense, but a counter-revolutionary act to boot.

Hitler knows why he is proceeding to parcel Austria into regions, to exterminate everything Austrian systematically, and not even to allow the Austrian Nazis to come to power. He knows much better than Otto Bauer *what a danger for his rule a defensive front of the Austrians represents.* That is precisely why, to adapt a phrase of Karl Marx, it is one of the important tasks of all anti-fascists to place the struggle against foreign rule, for the independence of Austria, in the foreground everywhere.

The German Working Class and "Greater Germany"

BY KURT FUNK

AFTER the annexation of Austria German fascism is directly threatening Czechoslovakia. The provocative activity of the Henlein party, directed from Berlin, is growing more aggressive day by day. And in some other countries of Europe and certain African colonial areas more or less disguised Nazi agents have redoubled their efforts in recent months to evoke the intervention of German fascism along the lines of Franco, Seyss-Inquart, and Henlein. At home, Hitler's government is setting all the levers of its bloated governmental machinery in motion to create widespread chauvinist feeling among the masses. At the present time it is impossible for it to come out openly before the German people with its plans for military conquest. Now as before the Nazi agitators are also resorting to hypocritical phrases regarding peace.

But fascism is quite systematically concentrating on diverting the toiling masses step by step from their own interests and harnessing them, with the aid of fake "national" aims, to the chariot of extreme imperialism, which is moving toward the dreamed-of German hegemony in Europe in the service of the interests of German finance capital. Ever since the annexation of Austria the Nazi propaganda machine has been drumming the slogan of "Greater Germany" into the masses with the aid of the movies, the radio, press, literature, the schools, and the like.

"Greater Germany" is a chauvinist-imperialist *slogan*, and not merely a designation for the German Reich as enlarged by the annexation of Austria. This slogan is intended to draw toilers and such circles of the intellectuals as reject fascism and its domestic policy into the turbid stream of chauvinism. In accordance with the twenty-five points of the Nazi party's program, this slogan means "the union of all Germans into Greater Germany." We know that the official "theoreticians" of German fascism operate quite consciously with vague concepts of "race" and "blood." Who is to be considered a "German" is decided in Berlin or Berchtesgaden. Tomorrow Berlin will interfere in Switzerland, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian states, the Balkans, and other countries, and end up by laying down very concrete claims to power, just as it recently "justified" the annexation of Austria by asserting that the Austrian people is a part of the German nation, and as Germany's government and press presume to interfere in the domestic affairs of Czechoslovakia upon the pretext that the population of the Sudeten area is a part of the German nation (although this area has never belonged to a German state throughout its history). For the world and the German people itself these claims are founded on the assertion that "Germans" or people "of German descent" live in all these countries, whom the German Reich is obliged to "protect" and whose "interests it must support."

Let us not forget that there are influential circles in other countries—apart from the direct accomplices of German fascism—that are aiding the Pan-German endeavors. The attitude of the most reactionary sections of the British and French bourgeoisie toward the annexation of Austria clearly proved this. They called the occupation of an independent state by German troops a domestic German affair, so to speak, thus justifying their "non-intervention." It is evident that this is grist for the mill of the fascist policy of conquest. Even Social-Democratic newspapers, such as the Dutch *Het Volk*, followed in the footsteps of Rosenberg during the days when German troops marched into Austria. Its reporting practically supported the Nazi claims.

It is necessary in the interests of world peace and of the liberation of the German people from the yoke of fascist enslavement to take a clear and unequivocal stand on the slogan of "Greater Germany."

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATISM HAMPERS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CHAUVINISM

The present situation in Germany requires quite definitely the united action of the working class, which must oppose raging chauvinism and give support and leadership to the other sections of the working population by its resolute struggle for its own interests. The feelings of uncertainty, discontent, and opposition, which are present in all sections of the toiling population and extend even into the ranks of the army, offer favorable conditions for intensifying the struggle against the fascist regime and weakening the aggressive force of German imperialism. Then, as another ally of the German working class, there is the Austrian people's urge for regaining its independence, which the German proletariat, for its own sake, must support in every way. But such action of the working class is confronted with ever new obstacles by the policy of the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

With German Social-Democracy there are not only the most divergent and contradictory views regarding the necessities and possibilities of struggle against fascism in general; among the leading circles of the party there are also tendencies and links to bourgeois nationalism. Social-Democratism (that is, the theory and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie) has not yet been overcome in the German working class. The extent to which the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (S.P.G.) bases its policy upon expectations that involve the possibility of regaining contact with capitalist circles of Germany was manifested by the philistine panic that broke out in its press after the events of February 4, 1938, and after the annexation of Austria. What is more, the S.P.G. felt it necessary in that situation to declare that it does not agree with Hitler's method, to be sure, but that it also is for Greater Germany. The *Sozialdemokrat*, the newspaper of German Social-Democracy in Czechoslovakia, reported that the leadership of the S.P.G. is of the opinion that a restoration of the independent state of Austria is not its goal and that it considers such endeavors reactionary.

This stand against the Austrian nation's right of self-determination signifies in actuality the support of Hitler and the hampering of the struggle of the German working class. It arises from the connection of Social-Democratic politicians with National-Socialist Pan-German tendencies and their persistent refusal to learn the lessons of the political events of the past twenty years. It is no accident that the frankest nationalists in the S.P.G., among them Sollmann, member of the Party Executive, are also the most malicious enemies of the socialist Soviet Union. Sollmann and his friends (who are closely connected with Wenzel Jaksch, the theoretician of so-called "people's socialism," the chairman of the German Social-Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia, who has elaborated the Pan-German, nationalist revision of Marxism into a system

in his book *Volk und Arbeiter*) assert that the working class cannot consider or solve national questions from the standpoint of their class interests. They take over Nazi slogans (for example, the "problem of room" and the "march of the Germans through history") and identify themselves with them. The confused attitude of the S.P.G. Party Executive toward "Greater Germany" proves that such theories merely promote nationalism instead of strengthening the proletariat and the toiling masses against it. Here we see grave symptoms of a repetition of the support of imperialism such as official Social-Democracy rendered during the World War of 1914-1918. Then, too, there were theoreticians of the Cunow stripe who falsified Marxism in order to justify support of their own bourgeoisie in the imperialist war.

It is one of the most urgent tasks of the German working class at the present time to wage a clear and consistent struggle against all concessions to Hitler's Pan-German program and against drifting with the muddy current of Pan-German nationalism. But those who end up by calling the annexation of Austria progressive because it allegedly arises out of "historical necessities" are also swimming along with this current. Swimmers of this sort will be drowned in this stream in the further course of events without hope of rescue, even though they have put on a life preserver against Hitler's "methods."

THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY

The Nazis deliberately veil national problems in a mystical obscurity, which is the only place that Pan-German chauvinism can flourish. Ancient and medieval state organizations today serve them as justification for their territorial claims and contrasts. Fascism makes skillful use of the fact that the German bourgeoisie—in contrast to the bourgeoisie of France and England—tends toward romantic excursions into the medieval past because of the pitiful role played in the settlement of its own accounts with the Junkers and the dynasties. All that is progressive, militant, and heroic in German history is falsified, deformed, and so distorted by the fascist historians as to serve as support for the power interests of modern finance capital, which in reality are very prosaic and unromantic.

For some time past the Nazi party publishing houses and propaganda bureaus have been publishing piles of historical literature, the content of which serves to blur the progressive development of the German nation and its state during the nineteenth century. This material is supplied to Nazi party and school officials. An endeavor is made to influence the masses in this sense by means of an extensive staff of drilled functionaries. This is of great importance for the spread of chauvinism, more so than may appear at the first glance. What they are aiming at is to revise the democratic demands and conceptions that were alive during the 1808-1813 and 1848-1849 stages of the bourgeois revolution in Germany, and to deflect Germans' eyes further back in order that the vague pictures of the dynastic campaigns of the Saxon emperors, the Hohenstaufens, and the old Hohenzollerns, might cloud their judgment and make them receptive to fascism's modern claims as a great power.

The teaching of history in the schools and propaganda among the masses fix the boundaries of the Greater Germany aimed at (and "historically justified and necessary," as they try to make the people believe) very wide indeed. An entirely French town such as Nancy lies within these boundaries, as does the Spluegen-Pass in the Swiss Alps (on the Swiss-Italian border). The same is true, of course, for the Longwy ore basin, which is given the German name Longich for this purpose. The boundaries of the German Reich, which had been essentially crystallized at the end of the nineteenth century, after many fluctuations and deviations, are now being simply ignored. German imperialism wants to

go beyond the historically evolved borders; it is not satisfied with dominion over its own nation, but wants to subjugate and rule other nations. The Middle Ages, which are called in as a star witness, are merely a means to an end.

The historical facts prove that the German national state which evolved in the nineteenth century is a wholly viable structure. There are neither economic nor any other interests of the German people that require the enlargement of this area by the arbitrary seizure of other areas. It was and is, however, to the interests of the German people to cultivate friendly and neighborly relations with the other states of Europe. But the behavior of the German government results in the contrary and is based upon an opposite conception.

Let us take the example of Austria, which is particularly appropriate today. Ever since the war waged by Prussia in 1866 against Austria and a number of the smaller German states, *i.e.*, ever since the establishment of the present German Reich, Austria has been outside the sphere of this Reich. Even before this warlike controversy the evolution of the two countries followed different paths. Ever since 1866 Germany, on the one hand, and Austria on the other, have developed under economic and cultural conditions of their own. No change was made in this by the situation that resulted for Austria after the disintegration of old Austro-Hungary during the World War. Even in its new form Austria remained bound up with the Danubian and Balkan countries. What was needed was the establishment of a friendly, peaceful relationship between the two nations and states. But precisely that has been disturbed by the annexation of Austria and the military and police oppression of its population.

There were chauvinist tendencies with Pan-German aims in Germany and Austria even before the World War. But at that time the Pan-German and Greater German reactionaries lacked the strength to make headway against the healthy common sense of the two peoples and against progressive developments. German finance capital, lusting for power, now has carried out its long-prepared plans with the aid of its mailed fist, fascism, in order to be able to advance toward the Balkans and the East unhindered, with the support of its Austrian conquest. For Austria, especially an Austria that had fitted itself organically into a system of collective security and economic cooperation, would have been in the way of German finance capital.

A word must be said in this connection regarding the endeavor to justify the establishment of Greater Germany by means of mystical concepts of race. Alsace-Lorraine is one of the areas claimed by German imperialism. From 1871 down to the World War it belonged temporarily to the German Reich, to which France had had to cede it after losing the War of 1870-1871, returning to France after 1918. The basis for German fascism's demand for its incorporation in a Greater Germany is the "Germanic descent" of the Alsatians and Lorrainers. A commendably frank phrase of Bismarck's shows us how much there is to the "blood bond" and the "tribal community." In 1874 the Alsatians and Lorrainers elected deputies to the German Reichstag for the first time. All fifteen deputies were opponents of the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. On behalf of their constituents they demanded a plebiscite on Alsace-Lorraine's incorporation into or separation from the Reich. Their bill was wholly ignored by the Reichstag and the government. Shortly thereafter Bismarck coined the classic phrase that the German Reich was interested only in the *territory* of Alsace-Lorraine, which had to be a bulwark against France, and not in the *people* of Alsace-Lorraine (whom Bismarck rebuked on this occasion with typical Prussian Junker arrogance). It is well known, and we need not elaborate on it here, that the Alsatians and Lorrainers were treated as a colonial people by German imperialism. Present-day German fascism behaves no more humanely to-

ward Austrians, but even more brutally. Modern German finance capital is also interested in the *territory* of Austria, its mineral resources, its industry, its channels of transportation, etc. The Austrian *people*, and even the Austrian Nazis, are treated as persons not enjoying equal rights, as milksops, and in general as an inferior acquisition.

"GREATER GERMANY" MEANS NEW FETTERS FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE

Today, a few months after Austria's annexation, voices are heard in Germany asking: "What good is Austria to us, anyhow?" Those who ask are often people who were still impressed by Nazi arguments only a short while ago, and who now turn about in astonishment because the promises have again proved to be empty smoke. (But there is more empty smoke than bread in the triumphal journeys of the "Fuehrer" and in the circus shows that are put on on such occasions.) It is a fact that the conquest of Austria has brought into the German Reichsbank a nice amount of gold, but more than 90 per cent of the German people notice no improvement in their situation as a result of this gold. It is a fact that the officers of the field-gray and black-shirted occupation troops have supplied themselves generously with real butter, real sausage, unadulterated bread, and real woolens, etc., but it is also a fact that more than 90 per cent of the German people still get butter in limited rations, still have to content themselves with *Ersatz* textiles, and still have to eat bread made with the addition of potato flour.

Instead of relief from the oppressive provisions of the Four-Year Plan and compulsory economy, this military economy is now extended to Austria, while there are no improvements of any sort in Germany itself. And that will be the outcome of every further annexation and of the further policy of this government in general! Greater Germany means the ever-increasing extension of an economy of scarcity to other fields, with the situation of the population growing more difficult within the country itself. For every further step in this policy of conquest brings with it further deprivation for the masses of the German people, because more fortresses, more barracks, more airplane bases, and the like, have to be built.

The extension and intensification of terror go hand in hand with this. Like scarcity, this too is exported beyond the frontiers, while the pressure upon the population grows more and more severe within the country, on the "battlefield of inner Germany" (to use the phrase coined by Himmler, the head of the Gestapo). No, more than 90 per cent of the German people get nothing out of it. The annexation and war profiteers are the same as those who did well by themselves in 1914-1918, then profited by inflation and even by the reparations deliveries, and now are "sitting pretty," as the saying goes, together with the newly-rich party officials.

The German working class must bear still another thing in mind if it wants to learn the significance of Austria's annexation for the role and the meaning of "Greater Germany"; the Austrian workers had won back the right of organization, inch by inch, as well as extensive self-administration of workers' organizations and social insurance, etc., in tenacious and skillful struggle. The first act of German fascism after annexation was the abolition of these rights won by the working class in hard struggle. Correspondingly, the German working class obtained no improvement of any sort in their own position, deprived of all rights. All they have is the certainty that their own enslavement has contributed to the enslavement of a friendly people.

The Catholics of Germany, who have to wage a hard fight for their freedom of conscience and religious worship under Hitler fascism, had a backing up to now in the freedom of conscience of the Austrian Catholics. This backing is now gone. The struggle of Germany's Catholics will now become even more difficult.

The annexation of Austria fully

proved how the Pan-German policy of conquest unleashes and foments the basest chauvinistic instincts. Participation in the domination and plundering of other nations leads to the formation and growth of the parasitic sections of the population, which are already large enough as it is under fascism. These corrupted elements oppress their own people, oppose all democratic and progressive endeavors, and become the scourge of the masses of the people.

THE POLICY AND AIMS OF THE NAZI PARTY ARE CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

It follows from the foregoing that it is a matter of life and death for the German working class and the masses of toilers to realize clearly that their national interests are not identical with the "national" interests of finance capital. Today it is already clear to many "that imperialist rearmament and militarism do not mean liberation, but on the contrary intensify prison conditions, even more subjugation, oppression, and enslavement for the German toilers," as Ernst Thaelmann predicted in 1932. At that time he warned the German people "that one cannot fight against Versailles side by side with the German fascists, but only shoulder to shoulder with the French, Polish, British, Czech, and other workers of the whole world." (Both of these quotations are from his speech at the Party Conference of the Communist Party in Germany in October, 1932.) Today every step of the German working class must be guided by the realization that Hitler's "Greater Germany" will only accentuate their oppression and make their situation a harder one. If politicians of the stripe of Sollmann now build up a contradiction between the class interests of the German working class and the inclusive national interests of the German people, it must be emphasized most decisively that, on the contrary, the class interests of the working class, which coincide in every respect with the interests of the widest masses of the toiling population, including the intellectuals, are at the present time the most progressive force within the German people as a whole.

We have shown that the Pan-German program is contrary to the interests and progressive trends of development of the German people, and it must be emphasized that the Nazi Party has given enough examples in the past of the fact that, when the interests of the German nation are really involved, it is to be found on the other side of the barricades. The most striking example of this sort is Hitler's attitude toward the great defensive struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923. At that time the working class defended the national interests of Germany with the resolute sacrifice of its strength, its life, and its existence. Hitler stabbed the Ruhr proletariat in the back. He expressly refused to support the Ruhr struggle; he sabotaged it, and gave as his reason the fact that the Nazi Party would not support a movement the fruits of which would be reaped by Stresemann. (One day it will no doubt be documentarily proved that the financial backers of the Nazi Party were linked up at the time with certain finance capital circles in France.)

Ever since the summer of 1936 the working class and all honest democrats of the world have witnessed the treason of the reactionary capitalist circles of Spain, who have aimed their guns at their own people and have called in the aid of foreign intervention troops. Only their immediate profit interests matter to these circles. The same thing holds true of German finance capital, the German munitions industry, and the other pre-war and war profiteers in Germany. Their "Pan-German" concept contradicts the national interests of the German people and is at bottom profoundly treasonable, because it endangers the peace of the German people and jeopardizes Germany's existence to an even greater extent than did the imperialist policy of Wilhelm II.

The most important, the decisive, na-

tional problem to be solved in Germany today and tomorrow is the inner reconstruction of the German Reich, that is, first of all the abolition of the fascist regime. To do this job the German working class urgently requires unity of action in order to be able to organize joint action with the other sections of the toiling population.

In its struggle the German working class can count upon the sympathy of the toilers of the whole world, who have the same enemy that is menacing the independence of their country and world peace. Today its ally is Austria's movement for national freedom, in whose ranks the tested Austrian workers are fighting so prominently. Its enemy is the Pan-German fascism of reactionary finance capital, whose overthrow must be organized by the working class through a democratic People's Front.

The prerequisite for the freedom of the German people is the overthrow of the Hitler regime. That is why the working people of Germany are interested in seeing Hitler's intervention in Spain fail and the Spanish Republic win. The German people is interested in having Hitler suffer shipwreck in all his military adventures as soon as possible. The working people of Germany demand for themselves and for all other peoples the right of self-determination, which adorns the program of the Nazi Party as propaganda bait, but which is trampled underfoot wherever National-Socialism is a factor. A quotation from Lenin, the founder of the socialist nationalities policy, which was brilliantly led to victory by Stalin, merits the special attention of the German toilers today:

"There is only one solution of the national question (in so far as its solution is at all possible in the world of capitalism, in the world of profit, dissension, and exploitation), and this solution is consistent democracy."*

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, "Critical Notes on the National Question," p. 135, Russian edition.

The Doctrine of Marx Is All-Powerful

BY F. FURNBERG

WHEN we survey the history of mankind from the conquest of fire and the invention of the first tool to the ancient civilized peoples, the Egyptians, the Jews and the Chinese, from the Greeks and Romans to the developments of the last few centuries, there arise before us the great and courageous struggles that have led mankind upward and onward. The mathematics and astronomy of the Egyptians, the development of art and philosophy among the Greeks, the gigantic empire of the Romans with its ironclad concept of law, the profundity of science and culture in the Middle Kingdom—these were splendid achievements of mankind. The class struggles in antiquity, the peasant wars in Europe, the disruption of feudalism in England, the great French Revolution, the revolutionary struggle of the nineteenth century were all events of unprecedented significance, each of which transformed social conditions and ushered in a new stage of development.

But all these great happenings pale in comparison with the struggle of the twentieth century, which has nothing more nor less as its goal than the final emancipation of mankind from the fetters of economic, and hence of every human constraint, "the leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom." (Engels.) We are in the midst of a gigantic struggle, which concludes the prehistory of mankind and ushers in the history of mankind as a whole.

We owe the perception of the goal and the course of this struggle to Marx and Engels and to the two men who have developed their ideas still further with the progress of the struggle—Lenin and Stalin.

Karl Marx, born one hundred and twenty years ago in Trier, Germany, became the first great leader, the first great theoretician and practitioner of the struggle for socialism. Needless to say, from the very beginning, Marxism itself became an object of the tremendous struggle that was developing between progress and retrogression, between social revolution and reaction. Marxism and its creator, Karl Marx, became the banner around which all those rallied who were and are for human progress. On the other hand, Karl Marx became the man who was best-hated and most slandered by the dark forces of reaction. In essence, this has not changed today, but has been intensified and accentuated like the struggle itself. If Marx was honored and loved by millions who fought on the basis of his doctrine, Stalin is loved and honored today by tens of millions throughout the world, for whom the Soviet stars of the Kremlin are shining symbols of freedom and victory. On the other hand, the anti-Bolshevism of the fascist forces is nothing but the hatred of the old powers condemned to destruction, nothing but the anti-Marxism of fifty and eighty years ago.

The fascists sallied forth to destroy Marxism. They thought they were killing it when they slandered, imprisoned, and slaughtered hundreds and thousands of its fighters. But Marxism-Leninism continues to stand threateningly be-

fore them with ever-new strength. All their acts are merely new proofs of the far-seeing genius and foresight of the creators of Marxism. They cannot combat the class that is destined to lead mankind forward, the proletariat, without undermining their own rule anew day by day. They want to destroy the class-consciousness of the proletariat and impose "soldierly spirit" on the workers as well as on the whole population. In doing this they are merely endeavoring to place the official stamp of the fascist state upon a condition of which Marx said:

"Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants." *

Messrs. fascists have transferred this hierarchy from the capitalist factory to the whole population. For them there are only privates (the mass of the people), sergeants (the brown-shirted gangs), Officers (the capitalists), and a commander-in-chief (finance capital). The masses of the people are not only directly oppressed by capitalism and the capitalists, but are also trodden down every single day by the individual fascist gang leaders. Hence the struggle against capitalism is a direct struggle against fascism and its standard-bearers. Fascism wants to make the workers and peasants, the artisans and intellectuals, the whole toiling population, its slaves without wills of their own. They all are to become soldiers of its rapacious imperialism.

Fascism, the product of decaying capitalism, trembling at its imminent collapse, forces armaments and national incitement, the oppression and exploitation of the people, to the extreme. These are the weapons with which it wants to drive revolutionary spirit out of the proletariat and destroy Marxism-Leninism. But the Marxist truth, proved scientifically and practically, that capitalism produces its own grave-diggers, remains a thousandfold true for fascism, the most brutal form of the rule of finance capital. Fascism awakens defensive forces of the entire people that grow broader and broader; it compels the masses of the people to combine into a single front against the fascist officers and their commander-in-chief under pain of the worst enslavement and the destruction of hundreds of thousands by war and poverty. The working class, as the most progressive class, marches at the head of the struggle. In this struggle against reaction it joins with all the progressive forces of the people.

"They [the Communists] labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."*

This union and agreement, of which Marx wrote more than ninety years ago, has gained a new meaning and a new content today. This union and understanding in the front of the people has today become an overpowering necessity in the struggle for peace and freedom, against war and fascism. In this struggle the masses of the oppressed arm themselves with the theory of Marxism —and more than that, the theory has begun to become a reality. Lenin and Stalin have begun to make a reality of what Marx and Engels foresaw. Socialism is no longer a question of the distant future; it has stood the ordeal of struggle victoriously over one-sixth of the earth.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is the victory of Marxism-Leninism. The Bolshevik Party has proved in practice that the era of capitalism is over, and the era of socialism has begun. The working class of the Soviet Union has proved that it is the most revolutionary class, which can abolish its own oppression only by abolishing class society as a whole. The phrase "the community of the people," with which the fascists want to delude the masses of the people, is nothing but a wretched

* *The Communist Manifesto*, p. 16, International Publishers, New York.

* *Ibid.*, p. 44.

attempt to obscure the fact that the revolutionary class struggle under the banner of Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union has finally crushed and liquidated the exploiting and parasitic classes for the first time in the history of mankind, and through socialism has created the unshakable moral and political unity of the toiling people.

If the development of capitalism during the past century is proof of the correctness of one aspect of Marxism, socialism is proof of the correctness of the other. Under capitalism, need and oppression of the masses—under socialism, a joyous and happy life; under capitalism, anarchic economy and crises—under socialism, planned economy and construction; under capitalism, stoppage of economic and cultural development and progress—under socialism, progress in every field, the tremendous development of economy and culture.

Marxism-Leninism explains for us the consciousness of man and his social being. Socialism has again proved the correctness of this thesis. The social being of socialism begins to crystallize a type of human being: socialist man, man who struggles with nature for social progress in socialist society, as a part of this society, and at the same time successfully defends himself against the bitter onslaught of the powers of capitalism doomed to destruction. Anew and with never suspected strength he creates art; with seven-league boots he promotes science. Science, freed from the chains of capitalist class society, perceives the universal validity of the laws of motion of dialectical materialism. Physics, mathematics, biology, and geology, in short every branch of science, is only now able, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to advance in every way. Whereas "capitalist production is hostile to certain branches of intellectual production, such as art and poetry" (Marx), socialism liberates all the creative forces of the people and realizes a people's culture which will surpass everything created by humanity up to now.

Thus does Marxism-Leinnism win in all fields of human life. Today victorious socialism and dying capitalism still exist side by side. The more socialism flourishes, the more tremendous the victories of Marxism become, the bitterer, the more cunning, and the more poisonous does the struggle of the fascists become. They say that Marxism is dead, but they remind us of barbarians who shout out loud to drown out their fear. Marxism was never as strong as it is today, and that is the reason for the howling of all the anti-Marxists. They are blind enough not to see that precisely their frantic struggle, which shuns no weapon, no matter how base, is a proof of the power and greatness of Marxism-Leninism.

In the gigantic struggle between treacherous fascism and bright, strong, vigorous socialism, on whose side the exploited of all countries are fighting, the victory is not in doubt. It belongs to Marxism-Leninism, which is establishing the unity of the whole oppressed world against its oppressors. Truer than ever are Lenin's words:

"The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, providing men with a consistent view of the universe, which cannot be reconciled with any superstition, any reaction, any defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the lawful successor of the best that has been created by humanity in the nineteenth century—German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism."

The Struggle of the Czechoslovakian People Against Hitler-Fascism and War

BY HRUSKA CENEK

AFTER the occupation of Austria by Hitler-Germany, German fascism unleashed a furious warmongering campaign against Czechoslovakia. As early as his Reichstag speech on February 20 Hitler hurled his blazing torch upon the roof of Czechoslovakian independence by declaring that it is impossible for eleven million Germans to go on living in the neighborhood of Germany, oppressed nationally and having suffering inflicted upon them. In this statement Hitler betrayed his imperialist plans against Austria and Czechoslovakia. Austria was occupied on March 11 and 12. The menace of a fascist attack upon Czechoslovakia by Germany grew acute.

Encouraged by the concessions that the Czechoslovakian government, which yielded to the pressure of the reactionary group in the Czech Agrarian Party, made to the fascist Henlein Party, this latter agency of German fascism in Czechoslovakia renewed its attacks upon the Czechoslovak Republic. Henlein read Hitler's demands at the Karlsbad convention of the Henlein Party, which met on April 24. Through Henlein Hitler demanded of Czechoslovakia not only the autonomy of the German areas, but also the handing over of the German-speaking citizens to the sovereignty of the Henlein Party.

These demands are nothing more nor less than the surrender of the independence of the state and the placing of Czechoslovakia at Hitler's mercy. Nevertheless Henlein and the press of the German Reich add that these are "minimum demands," and that the Czechoslovak government must comply with them if it wants to have peace in the Sudeten area. Henlein points out that many parties are ready to unite on the platform of his demands. He cites the British Conservative circles who indicate that they are for an agreement between Berlin and Prague at any price. With this he wants to force the democratic parties in Czechoslovakia to make concessions. At the convention Henlein stated that he:

". . . had the right to formulate our claims even more broadly in view of recent developments and the resulting increase in the value and strength of the Sudeten Germans. . . . We want no war, neither at home nor abroad, but we can no longer suffer a state of affairs which represents for us war in peace."

Thus Henlein threatens war in order to back up the provocative demands of the Third Reich. Simultaneously with the proclamation of these demands of the Third Reich the Hitler press commenced a furious campaign against the Czechoslovak people. The regime of the Third Reich denies the Czechoslovak people's right to independence and prophesies that it will not enjoy its independence much longer.

The overwhelming majority of the fifteen millions of the Czechoslovak people passionately resists Hitler's provocative demands. It objects passionately to Hitler's becoming the practical dictator, through Henlein, over the three million Germans in Czechoslovakia, to Czecho-

slovakian reaction forcing the Socialists out of the government in order to take Henlein in, or to Czechoslovakia changing its foreign policy and annulling its treaties with the Soviet Union and France and, bound hand and foot, finally becoming a victim of German fascism.

While certain reactionary Czechoslovak politicians are ready to come to an agreement with Hitler, the masses of the Czechoslovak people are extremely indignant at the insolent demands of Henlein and Hitler. Hitler would like to be the ruler of this rich country already, which is of great strategic importance to German fascism in its road to the east and the Balkans. But on May 1, three million Czechoslovak, German, Hungarian and Ukrainian anti-fascists demonstrated together for the defense of Czechoslovak independence and against fascism and Henlein's and Hitler's provocative demands. Hundreds of thousands of anti-fascists and democrats in Prague, Brno, Bratislava, Ostrava, and other Czechoslovak cities, made it plain to Hitler that they reject his domination and that they will defend their independence against fascism to the last drop of their blood.

The first of May showed, however, that Hitler cannot depend upon large sections of the German people in the Sudeten areas either, although the Czechoslovak government, under the pressure of Czech reaction, afforded Henlein every opportunity for agitation and terror against the German population of Czechoslovakia. In the cities where real unity of all democrats was established, such as Bruex, Iglau, and other cities, Henlein remained in the minority. The May 1 demonstrations of the German anti-fascists in other Sudeten areas also proved that Henlein does not possess the right to speak on behalf of the whole German people of the Sudeten area.

The Czechoslovak people gave Czechoslovak reaction a no less decisive answer. Czechoslovak reaction, which is centered around the reactionary groups within the Czech Agrarian Party and supports Henlein in every way, tried to prevent the united anti-fascist mass demonstrations on May 1 by every means. When this failed, they endeavored to exclude the chief organizers of the joint May 1 demonstration, the Communists, from these demonstrations. But reaction failed in this, too, and so it had to express itself, at least formally, in favor of these joint demonstrations in order not to remain isolated.

It feared that it would stand before the Czechoslovak people completely exposed as a band of traitors to the country and to the people, who break up the democratic front for the defense of the republic in so grave a situation. The reactionary leadership of the Hlinka Party (the Slovak People's Party), which is completely under the influence of Henlein and the Polish and Hungarian reactionaries, maneuvered less cleverly than Czech reaction; it was more decisively isolated from the toilers and the progressive masses of Slovakia. In united May 1 demonstrations the Slovak people took a very decided stand against the reactionary policy of the Hlinka Party.

Too soon did Hitler give his yellow journalists instructions to write about the end of Czechoslovak independence. In the hour of danger the Czechoslovak people was united in spite of the treasonable intrigues of reactionary politicians, and in spite of the vacillations of English petty-bourgeois elements and the irresoluteness of certain government circles. In Comrade Stalin's historic speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he said:

"Still others think that war should be organized by a 'superior race,' say, the German 'race,' against an 'inferior race,' primarily against the Slavs, that only such a war can provide a way out of the situation because it is the mission of the 'superior race' to fertilize the 'inferior race' and rule over it. Let us assume that this queer theory, which is as far removed from science as heaven is from earth, let us assume that this queer theory is put into practice. What will come of it?

"It is well known that ancient Rome regarded the ancestors of the present-day Germans and Frenchmen in the same way as the representatives of the 'superior race' now regard the Slavonic tribes. It is well known that ancient Rome treated them as an 'inferior race,' as 'barbarians' whose destiny it was to be eternally subordinated to the 'superior race,' to 'great Rome,' and, between ourselves let it be said, ancient Rome had some grounds for this, which cannot be said about the representatives of the present 'superior race.' But what came of it? The result was that the non-Romans, *i.e.*, all the 'barbarians' united against the common enemy, hurled themselves against Rome and overthrew it. The question arises: what guarantee is there that the claims of the representatives of the present 'superior race' will not lead to the same deplorable results? What guarantee is there that the fascist-literary politicians in Berlin will be more fortunate than the ancient and experienced conquerors in Rome? Would it not be more correct to assume that the opposite will be the case?" *

It is extremely timely to remind the peoples living in Czechoslovakia of these words of Comrade Stalin. The first of May in Czechoslovakia has shown that all the true democrats and genuine sons of Czechoslovakia, from the Communists to the Social-Democrats, Czech Socialists and the Czech Clericals, as well as the democratic masses in the Agrarian Party, the Artisans' Party, the Hlinka Party, and even in the National Union (the fascist party), are ready to unite against the common enemy, German fascism. The masses of the people have sworn to defend their independence with every weapon; they rely, in doing so, upon the powerful allies of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Soviet Union and France, and all the democrats and anti-fascists in the world.

But the first of May in Czechoslovakia was only the beginning of the uniting of the people. Hitler will continue his machinations against Czechoslovakia with all the reactionary forces in Europe to attain his goal—the occupation of Czechoslovakia. He will continue, with the aid of reactionary Czechoslovak circles, to exert pressure upon the government party in order to "soften" Czechoslovakia and to check the people's power of resistance. All democrats must therefore work for the creation of firm, wide, democratic unity of the whole Czechoslovak people, irrespective of political and national convictions, for the defense of Czechoslovak independence and for the initiation of a tremendous popular movement against fascism and against the Czechoslovak reactionaries and those who propose surrender. Only through such a popular movement, and not by diplomatic activity behind the scenes, will Czechoslovakia repulse Hitler's attack.

The first of May, which united all democrats, irrespective of political, religious, and national affiliations, in impressive demonstrations against fascism and war, has proved that a wide front of resistance, a tremendous popular movement for the independence of Czechoslovakia, is possible. Moreover, the first of May proved that the overwhelming majority of the population of Czechoslovakia is democratic and anti-fascist, and that there also are large democratic groups within the German population who are not giving way to the terror of the Henlein Nazis. Most of the leaders of the German Christian Social Party and the German Agrarians have gone over to Henlein. They tried to liquidate their parties, but the organizations resisted and are again offering themselves for democratic collaboration within the framework of the republic.

On May 6, the National Executive of the Association of Farmers, which had been declared "dissolved" by its former leaders, met in a session at which all the German areas of Czechoslovakia were represented. After hearing a report by Dr. Spina, the former leader of the party and an ex-minister of the Cabinet, the National Executive voted to reestablish independent local and district organiza-

* *Socialism Victorious*, p. 14. International Publishers, New York.

tions, contrary to previous decisions, and to inform the authorities that the party was not dissolved and that it was renewing its parliamentary club and its municipal delegations. It is going to reissue its newspaper, *Deutsche Landpost*, and is going to put up independent candidates for the municipal elections again. The other democratic party, the leader of which is Senator Kostka, the mayor of Reichenberg, is also going to continue its activities. The resumption of activity by these two German democratic parties will strengthen the democratic front in Czechoslovakia.

To be sure, there are strong and influential reactionary groups within the various bourgeois Czechoslovak parties, in addition to the democratic front and Henlein's fascist party. Comrade Dimitroff rightly characterized these groups in his May first article, when he said:

"Thus two opposite processes of development of international events are taking place. Whereas the reactionary dominant capitalist circles of the countries of bourgeois democracy are inclined more and more toward a deal with the fascist aggressors and the application of a pro-fascist policy at home, *the forces of the struggle against war and fascism are growing throughout the world.*" *

Indeed, the Right wing of the Czech Agrarians and other reactionary politicians in Czechoslovakia are orienting themselves more and more upon agreements with the fascist aggressors. Together with the treasonable policy of "maintaining contact" and secret negotiations with the German fascists they are carrying on a disgraceful whispering propaganda to demoralize and demobilize the masses. They declare that the Czechoslovak people would also survive German foreign rule, and that therefore they should let Hitler in "peacefully" rather than with bombers and tanks. These traitors try to "soften" the government behind closed doors and to prevent the rise of a popular movement at any price. Under the pretext, "one mustn't irritate Hitler," they are trying to paralyze the democratic agitation and organization of the masses of the people, at the same time opening the way for their friends in the Henlein camp.

This activity of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, who place their class interests above the interests of the people and the state, is the *greatest* danger to Czechoslovakia. The fact that the government itself is not united, and that the democratic circles of the government are basing themselves too much upon compromises with reaction and too little upon the development of the people's forces makes this danger all the greater.

In the article cited above Comrade Dimitroff writes:

"A firm policy of isolating the fascist aggressors on an international scale presupposes the application of resolute measures in each separate country to curb those reactionary forces which betray the interests of their own people and support the plans of conquest of German and Italian fascism and the Japanese militarists." *

The Czechoslovak people must bridle the reactionary forces in the camp of "its own" bourgeoisie if it wants to avoid treason within its own country. If the Czechoslovak people wants to repel Hitler fascism, it must first of all combat the reactionary, and in part openly fascist, groups within the Agrarian Party, and the National Union, and the irredentist Hlinka-Sidor group within the Slovak People's Party, those groups who are striving for an agreement with Hitler even at the cost of betraying their own nation. In the struggle against the Henlein Party the democratic parties must endeavor to win the Sudeten German people for the Republic. They must see to it that the government, which is drafting a nationalities statute, includes in this statute all the justifiable national, eco-

* See Georgi Dimitroff's article "The Guarantee of Victory" in the May, 1938, issue of *The Communist International.*

* *Ibid.*

nomic, language, and cultural demands of the German population.

This nationalities statute, based on the democratic constitution and the independence of the Czechoslovakian state, can represent a great step forward if it is submitted not only to the Henlein Party, but first of all to all the democratic parties in Czechoslovakia, including the German Communists.

In January, 1936, Comrade Gottwald made the following remarks on the national question in a discussion article written for the Seventh Convention of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:

"If anything can tie and strengthen the fraternal bond between the nations of Czechoslovakia, it is the realization of equal rights for the non-Czech population in all matters: in social questions, in the economic field, in the field of political rights, in school, language, and cultural questions, and the like."

On November 6, 1936, Comrades Gottwald and Koehler sent a memorandum on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the government, addressed to Premier Hodza, which stated that:

"The German area of the Republic has already become the chief concentration point of German-Hitler imperialism for an offensive against Czechoslovakia. Tomorrow it may be transformed into the area of an armed putsch by the Hitler agents or even the point of departure for a warlike attack upon Czechoslovakia. In this situation the attitude of the German population toward the republic and its defense is of extraordinary importance for the fate of Czechoslovakia."

The memorandum also makes comprehensive demands for ensuring equal civil rights to the German population of Czechoslovakia, ensuring national justice and enacting a democratic language law, as well as demands in the economic, social and other fields. These documents indicate that as early as 1936 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia correctly foresaw the course of developments and endeavored to oppose the spread of fascism among the German population. At the beginning of April this year the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia again approached the Czechoslovak government, repeating these demands in a new memorandum. It is still not too late to improve the conditions of the German population in the Sudeten areas in this manner.

If all the democratic parties of Czechoslovakia demand the fulfilment of the national and economic demands of the Sudeten Germans as energetically and consistently as the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia does, if they do not allow the chief participants in the negotiations to be Czech reaction on one hand and the fascist Henlein Party on the other, it will be possible to consolidate the democratic anti-fascist front of May 1. By means of a truly democratic policy the front for the defense of Czechoslovak independence can be widened to include hundreds of thousands of Sudeten Germans and it can be made considerably more difficult for Hitler fascism to pursue its imperialist attack upon Czechoslovakia.

The decisive factor is that the masses of the people come into play in order to defend their democratic republic, the peace and independence of Czechoslovakia. The first of May has shown how wide the front of the people is, but the development of the people's forces must not be confined to a single day; it must take place every day and every hour. The spirit of democracy, of love of country, and of resolute determination not to sacrifice the freedom and dignity of Czechoslovakia lives in the masses of the Czechoslovak workers and peasants and in the ranks of the Legionnaires and the Sokols. This spirit will clear the murky air of rotten compromises and will mobilize the entire population if the masses succeed not merely in entrusting the defense of the interests of the people and the state to a cautious Cabinet policy, but in intervening energetically in events themselves. It must be the immediate goal of all democratic forces to transform the front of May 1 into a permanent, active, militant front of the people.

Neutrality—No Protection for Switzerland

BY OTTO FISCHER

ALTHOUGH many of the Swiss may have considered the idea of possible downfall of Switzerland absurd a short while ago, this opinion must necessarily have changed somewhat after the occupation of Austria by the German army.

Switzerland's existence is menaced—menaced by Hitler Germany and fascist Italy. Italian fascism has made no secret of its annoyance with the recognition of Raeto-Romanic as the fourth national language of Switzerland, thus demonstrating that it considers the Romanic part of Switzerland a future Italian province. The Third Reich openly proclaims its "protective" dominion over all the German-speaking countries of Europe. The Swiss government, however, points to Hitler's solemn declaration that he will respect Swiss neutrality. Even if we were to assume that this is not a "neutrality" that is nothing but tacit coordination of Switzerland with Hitler Germany, after all the happenings of the last few years, an astonishing genuine or false naiveté is required to attribute any significance to such a declaration.

There is more than one solemn declaration regarding the respecting of Austria's independence and sovereignty in the Austrian archives, in so far as they have not been purged by the new masters of Austria.

Nevertheless, many of the Swiss hope to ensure independence and peace best by restoring "comprehensive" neutrality. This has also been done in a solemn governmental act. The national defense has gained nothing thereby, but this declaration has contributed to a further weakening of the League of Nations and of collective security.

What does this fetish of neutrality mean?

Litvinov, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, revealed the problematic nature of this "comprehensive" neutrality in the Committee of Eighteen, which is dealing with the reform of the League of Nations.

"Only one thing is unclear to me: do they [all those who reject Article XVI of the Covenant of the League, citing their neutrality—*O.F.*] have a unilateral or a bilateral neutrality in mind? In other words, must their neutrality be protected by the League of Nations, or can the League of Nations also remain neutral in case this neutrality is violated?"

Remaining neutral means not interfering when *others* are waging war; but what does neutrality mean when one is threatened or attacked oneself? Obviously, neutrality is a concept that cannot be applied to such a situation.

Unfortunately, other standpoints are defended in Switzerland at the present time. It is asserted that history shows that the European great powers have always respected Swiss neutrality, and that nothing justifies the assumption that this will be otherwise in the future. They must only avoid doing anything that allows the slightest doubt to arise regarding Switzerland's "comprehensive" neutrality in order to afford no areas of attack, no pretext for the violation of this neutrality.

A glance at Swiss history shows how

little justification the present rulers of Switzerland have for citing history. Switzerland was founded and built up on the principle that the present government denies and violates, citing as justification—Swiss history! This principle is collective security.

When the original cantons, Schwyz, Uri, and Nidwalden, formed an "Everlasting League" for the maintenance of their rights and of the peace of the country against the predatory Hapsburg Albert I, no one spoke of collective security, but it was precisely that which was the foundation of the Everlasting League of the Confederates. The League demonstrated its vitality in the battle of Morgarten on November 15, 1315, when the three original cantons defeated Duke Leopold of Austria. After the renewal of the Everlasting League on December 9, 1315, at Brunnen, Lucerne joined the League in 1332, Zurich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, and Berne in 1353. The union was not yet final; the Hapsburgs succeeded in bringing Glarus and Zug under their sway again. Two sieges of Zurich by Duke Albert the Lame in 1351 and 1352 met with no success, however; this city was lost to the Hapsburgs. A third siege of Zurich failed in 1354, and with it the final effort to destroy the Confederates. In 1364 Zug was reoccupied by the men of Schwyz and again incorporated in the Confederation, while Glarus was regained after the victory near Sempach on July 9, 1386. The Hapsburgs' claim to dominion over this country was finally broken in the battle of Naefels on April 9, 1388. These victories of the Swiss forced the Hapsburgs to sign a treaty of peace. The league of the eight old towns was thus consolidated and secure.

What was the reason for the victories of the Confederates? It is reported of the battle near Sempach that the Duke's 4,000 men, many of whom were knights, at first repulsed the Swiss, who were only 1,300 strong. The chronicles say that only the deed of Eri Winkelried, a man of Unterwalden, who, calling out, "Confederates, I'll make a road for you; take care of my wife and my children," gathered a number of the knights' spears together against his breast and fell pierced through and through, paved the way to victory for the Swiss. Less than two years later the handful of Glarus men put an Austrian army nearly ten times its size to flight at Naefels, no less than 1,700 Austrians losing their lives, while only 54 men of Glarus were killed. The victory of the Swiss in the first case is largely attributed to the legendary heroic deed of Winkelried, while the victory at Naefels is supposed to have been due principally to the arming of the men of Glarus with halberds, which were unknown elsewhere at the time and which caused panic in the enemy's ranks, or to the fighting methods of the Swiss, who caused the knights' horses to shy by means of a shower of stones. All of this doubtless has a germ of truth in it. But the decisive factor is this: the Swiss fought as freemen against knights—and subject armies. The Klingenberg Chronicle, speaking of the Austrians' behavior just before the decisive battle, reports that the men of Glarus could see:

". . . how they kept themselves so disorderly and rode and went apart from each other, and each of them would have liked to gain much."

Only a free man could have accomplished Winkelried's deeds; such a deed can be reported only of a free people. Among the Swiss each man helped his neighbor; each canton its neighbor. Their decisive strength lay in Swiss freedom and Swiss collectivity.

The concept of armed neutrality occurs in Swiss history for the first time after the Treaty of Westphalia, which granted Switzerland full recognition of its sovereignty. The great powers left Switzerland at peace for more than a century. Did Swiss neutrality thus prove its worth? What essentially proved its worth, in this case as well, was the Swiss desire for freedom and their fighting strength. The Swiss confederates were not respected and left alone because they were *neutral*, but because they were

strong. Long after halberds had become the customary arms of the mercenary troops, the Swiss continued to be considered the best and most dangerous fighting people. This was not due to the halberds or to neutrality, but to Swiss freedom and Swiss collectivity.

The internationally recognized neutrality of Switzerland exists only since 1815. After the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 the Diet, the supreme organ of the Swiss Confederation, voted to observe strict neutrality. Nevertheless the Austrians crossed the Rhine on December 21, 1813, and marched through Switzerland against France. Swiss neutrality was again proclaimed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Congress granted Switzerland "eternal" neutrality. It was a brief eternity; the ink was scarcely dry on the document when the news of Napoleon's return reached Vienna. A Swiss army marched into France alongside the forces of the great powers. In return for supporting the Allies against France, Switzerland received a war indemnity in the Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815), together with a formal document in which the powers guaranteed its enduring neutrality and the inviolability of its territory.

Since that time Switzerland has not been involved in any foreign war. Does it owe this to this solemn document? Peace was imperiled often enough in Switzerland during the past century. In 1836 the French government delivered an ultimatum demanding the expulsion of Louis Napoleon. No conflict took place because Louis Napoleon left the country voluntarily. Ten years later, in the Sonderbund War (1847), almost all the European great powers intervened, taking the side of the reactionary Sonderbund cantons. After the defeat of the Sonderburg and the proclamation of the new constitution, Austria, Prussia, France, and Russia delivered a joint note on January 18, 1848, in which they declared they would not permit any revision of the Confederal pact of 1815 that was contrary to cantonal sovereignty. In this critical situation the February Revolution came to the aid of Switzerland, and the threatening intervention did not occur.

At the same time a new menace to Switzerland arose out of the February Revolution. In the canton of Neuchatel, which though a member of the Confederation was under the sovereignty of the King of Prussia, an armed uprising forced the Council of State to abdicate on March 1, 1848. The monarchy was abolished and a republican constitution guaranteed by Switzerland was adopted. The King of Prussia refused to recognize this and, with the aid of Count Frederic Pourtales, instigated a putsch on November 2, 1856, which was suppressed after two days of fighting. Prussia threatened to fight, and the danger of war was removed only by the mediation of other great powers which feared an extension of Prussia's power, especially Napoleon III. The King of Prussia renounced all his rights.

From 1866 onward there had been a new great power along the Swiss southern frontier: Italy, which was in no way bound by the document of 1815 and did not sign the declaration of neutrality. In 1886 the German military attaché reported to Berlin plans for German-Italian cooperation against France via Switzerland. Bismarck refused—not because of the German signature to the declaration of neutrality, but because he was afraid of driving the Swiss militia into the arms of the French. And that was the reason given for his rejection.

According to various reports, the Italian general staff repeatedly tried to gain Germany's approval of this plan in 1889, 1899, 1902, and lastly in 1912. Only in 1914 did Italy sign the convention of 1815. This signature corresponded to Italy's shift to the side of the Entente powers, which rendered all previous plans illusory.

Thus international respect of the perpetual neutrality and inviolability of Swiss territory is limited to the time of the World War, the brief period since 1914. How little Germany respected the value of a signature to a declaration of

neutrality in 1914 was shown by the German army's invasion of neutral Belgium. This might also be formulated as follows: Germany respected Swiss neutrality and inviolability in 1914 because the German general staff considered it more advantageous to violate Belgian neutrality.

There is no doubt that the respect of the powers for the military strength of Switzerland and for the unbending readiness of a free people that loves its freedom to defend itself played a considerable role in the past hundred years. The modern evolution of military technique, especially aviation and mechanization, makes it seem more and more problematical whether a little country like Switzerland can keep up, even approximately, with the great powers. Though Switzerland was a power that aroused the fear of the great princes in bygone centuries and a power that commanded respect in the century just passed, even the latter is doubtful today. Though in bygone centuries the collaboration of little countries in a confederation was enough to ensure peace to each one of them, a confederation that is to ensure peace to even *one* country today must comprise the whole world. Only the policy of collective security is able to protect a country like Switzerland from the invasion of fascist aggressors.

Declarations were never able to secure the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland. Austria replied to the Swiss Diet's declaration of neutrality by marching in with its troops. The document of 1815 did not prevent France from intervening in 1836 nor Prussia from threatening war on the occasion of the Neuchatel putsch. It did not prevent the reactionary powers from instigating the Sonderbund war and preparing for intervention after the end of that war. It did not prevent the Italian general staff from including Swiss territory in its war plans.

In essence, the neutrality of Switzerland signified nothing but definitely renouncing the acquisition of territory or other advantages at the expense of other nations or people. It never signified a weak yielding to the threats of other powers, a compliance with foreign desires or philosophies. Switzerland rejected the French demands in 1836 just as brusquely as it did the Prussian demands regarding Neuchatel in 1848. It ignored the joint note of the powers after the Sonderbund war and continued to develop its democratic confederation. What is more, wherever a people was fighting for its freedom, it met with enthusiastic support in Switzerland. At the time of the Polish wars of liberation nobody in Switzerland would have imagined it a violation of neutrality that high Swiss army officers were fighting in the ranks of the Polish fighters for freedom. Nobody court-martialed the great Swiss writer Gottfried Keller because he, as the secretary of the Aid for Poland organization, arranged the sending of hundreds of volunteers to Poland and bought tens of thousands of francs' worth of arms for the Poles.

What the Swiss government demands today in the name of neutrality, both at home and abroad, has nothing in common with the concept of neutrality as we know it in Swiss history. It is a policy of—at least halfway—capitulation to fascism. This policy is characterized by the persecution of anti-fascists who support the struggle of the Spanish people, by the endeavor to suppress the Communist Party, and by reactionary measures of all kinds. This policy, which is a thousand times wrong in citing Swiss history, opens wide the doors to the fascist aggressors.

Neutrality alone never was, nor can it ever be, a weapon against the aggressor. There is only one neutrality, or better said, one protection for the peace of Switzerland: if the powers united in the League of Nations guarantee this neutrality and if Switzerland is resolved to defend its independence by force against any aggressor. When one is attacked, one cannot remain "neutral." To prevent attacks and to repel the attacker one must be strong oneself and be protected by those who are strong.

Thus there are two kinds of neutrality: well-armed neutrality in the name of collective security, and the "neutrality" that is nothing but a more or less tacit enrolment in the war front of world fascism. This "neutrality," abandoning the line of collective security, coming to terms with the fascist aggressor, is the aim of the reactionary class policy of the Swiss bourgeoisie. This "neutrality" is the sacrifice of the security and national independence of the country to the class and group interests of the reactionary big bourgeoisie. This "neutrality" is nothing but treason.

Every step toward "comprehensive" neutrality is a peril to Switzerland which the people cannot accept. Calm and persistent propaganda, which is linked up with the great traditions of Swiss history, cannot fail to have an effect upon the attitude of the majority of the Swiss. On the other hand, the rapid, stormy course of events will aid this process of enlightenment considerably. Switzerland has been unable to isolate itself from any of the great upheavals of the past. The liberation of the serfs, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and, above all, the great bourgeois revolution in France stirred up Switzerland and involved it in world events no less than they did other countries.

Present-day neutrality in the decisive struggle for existence of all human freedom and of human culture in general, which the age is rushing toward with gigantic steps, the war between democracy and fascism, can be maintained as little as Switzerland was able to stay out of the great wars that followed the French Revolution or as Swiss neutrality could be maintained when face to face with the elemental forces unleashed by the bourgeois revolution. When the Swiss people will finally have realized that it has to choose between democracy and fascism, between collective security and a "neutral" attitude toward its own downfall, when it will have realized that there is no third alternative, it will not find it hard to decide. There can be no doubt of it: Switzerland will find protection in the policy of collective security in the future as well, or it will fall prey to the fascist warmaking powers. It will be free or it will cease to exist!

The Dying of Culture in Fascist Germany

BY EDWIN HOERNLE

WHEN fascism came to power in Germany, one of its first steps was the rigorous limitation of the number of students entering the higher schools and universities. It succeeded in reducing the number of entering students from 14,000 in the summer semester of 1932 to scarcely 7,000 in the summer semester of 1935. The total number of students fell from 116,000 in the summer semester of 1932 to 77,000 in the summer semester of 1935, and with the graduation of the upper semesters it has continued to sink to about half the former figures in the meantime. The "intellectual younger generation" was to be fitted to the "demand."

The fascist press wrote of the "academic proletariat," which represented a menace to the "community of the people." At the same time the schools and universities were cleansed of "liberalistic spirit" by Gestapo methods and turned into training schools for officials of the fascist bureaucracy. Science frankly became the handmaiden of fascist methods of economy and rule. The school population is being infected with the poison of racism and is being turned into fanatics in the spirit of a barbarous militarism for the coming aggressive war. Only lackeys of the Rosenberg-Darré-Guenther dogma, possessing no convictions of their own, are allowed to function as instructors.

Today the fruits of this criminal "school reform" are ripening more quickly and more inclusively than the fascist "cultural politicians" would like. For the past few months the Nazi press has been full of cries of alarm and regret because of the striking, in fact menacing, flight of the younger generation from the academic professions. The schools of engineering, the teacher-training schools, the schools of agriculture—almost all academic institutions are suffering from an increasing drop in the number of students. The first cry of alarm came from the engineering lecture halls. Over Goebbels' radio, Dr. Todt, an engineer, issued not merely a warning, but, as the magazine *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* (No. 7, 1938) expressly states, an "adjuration" to the German youth to turn to the technical professions again, where an "implausibly far-reaching drop" has taken place. The following figures were cited:

The number of new students entering the seven major technical faculties fell from 18,950 in 1929 and 16,250 in 1932 to 8,330 in 1937, that is, 44 per cent. The greatest drop occurred in chemical and electrical engineering. The figures cited for the latter two are 5,868 to 2,146, and 3,441 to 1,396. This tremendous drop in the number of engineering students is all the more striking since it was largest in precisely those professions which ought to have gained most of all from fascist armaments, if we were to judge by the statistics of the enormous rise in production and the net corporation profits. The reasons for this contradiction lie in the wholly inadequate salaries for engineering personnel paid by the monopoly-capital captains of industry and in the impoverishment of the petty-bourgeoisie, from whose ranks most of the students entering the schools of engineering were hitherto recruited.

The second cry of alarm came from the

schools of agriculture, in an article written by the executive secretary of the Reich League of German Diploma Agriculturists, Herr Kraemer, which bore the characteristic title "Intellectual Flight from the Land." *"Today qualified specialists are generally lacking in the food sector,"* wrote the author, who, is certainly specially qualified to know.*

"But more particularly the growing lack of practically and scientifically trained diploma agriculturists begins to take on dimensions from year to year which justify serious misgiving."

So here too, as in the schools of engineering, we see a picture of growing flight from the academic professions. The author computed a deficit of some 50 per cent of the new personnel needed in 1939 as well as in 1940. "This intellectual flight from the land," he exclaimed, "must be combatted under all circumstances and by every means!"

Nor are matters any different in the fascist teacher-training schools. According to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of April 28, 1938, "the growing lack of teachers has led the National-Socialist Teachers' League to instruct its offices to report for each region the number of vacant teaching positions that cannot be filled because of lack of teaching personnel." A report is also to be made on the number of students in the teacher-training schools as well as on the annual teacher-personnel requirements.

The teaching profession, too, is allegedly one of those for which the fascist regime opens the most glorious prospects with its "organic school reform," and which is given a wide berth by the youth of today.

In its third April issue *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* returns to the drop in enrollment in the schools of engineering. It asks, "Why is there a lack of qualified younger personnel in economy?" and answers:

"It is no secret that the academic youth who are the chief source of the younger personnel, especially for the engineering professions, avoids these professions at the present time. When 10,000 of the 18,000 graduates of the secondary schools applied to enter the profession of army officer last year, that is a typical symptom of the situation in more than one respect."

Of 18,000 graduates 10,000 want to become officers in present-day Germany! Doubtless a "typical symptom of the situation"! What this "National-Socialist Economic Service" adds is also typical of the situation, *viz.*, that "only the second-rate students are available by and large" for professions such a teaching, engineering, science, etc.

So we are faced with the fact that in present-day Germany, this "land of poets and thinkers," as it used to be called, the tremendously swollen army machine absorbs more than 50 per cent of the youngsters graduating from the *Gymnasia*, the *Oberrealschulen*, and the *Aufbauschulen*, while only the "second rate students," *i.e.*, the physically and mentally less capable, are left for all the academic professions.

Also "typically symptomatic of the situation" is the excuse or justification found by this organ, close to the Berlin Regional Executive of the fascist party, for this trend of the youth towards the profession of army officer. It writes:

"Material reasons are not decisive. The chief reason lies in the field of mentality. A decent youngster chooses the profession in which he is 'on top,' that is, belongs to the most respected professional caste. There is no doubt that the profession of officer is socially superior to all other professions in prestige."

The "decent youngster" chooses, according to fascist ethics, not the profession which is useful and noble and best suited to his abilities, but the one in which he is "on top." For he is "decent" by virtue of the fact that he wants to be "on top." Careerism is a proof of decency. This lies in the "field of mentality." This is the pass to which fascist

* We quote from the *Westdeutsche Landzeitung*, April 12, 1938.

education has come. The frightful horror of an attack on a peaceful people, the bombardment of open cities, the mass murder of women and children, and the cold-blooded destruction of a fleeing civilian population by firing upon them from the sea and the air do not repel, but act as an attraction. This is how one will be "on top." And the caste to which the murderous air-force lieutenants of the intervention troops in Spain belong is "socially superior to all other professions in prestige" at home.

On behalf of German youth in the schools of higher learning it should be said that, contrary to the argumentation of the Nazi magazine, their moral derangement, aimed at by fascist education, is far from having reached this terrifying stage. Even among the young officers of the present fascist German army there doubtless are elements enough who are honestly convinced that they are serving their fatherland, their people, and even freedom, by their army service. For fascist demagogy pictures Hitler's army as a guardian of freedom, as a "defense force," and not as an instrument for rapacious attack. Only rarely do they learn anything of the bloody crimes in Spain until one day they themselves become witnesses and accomplices. And the predatory annexation of Austria has been lied about by fascist demagogy with sufficient cleverness for the time being to blind young, inexperienced, and credulous minds. The wild atrocity tales abuut the Soviet Union, the Red Army and socialist construction have wholly confused a large section of this youth and have made them incapable, for a while, of recognizing the simple truths.

But many of those who apply for training as officers have done so quite primitively for those material reasons which the author of the article mentions alongside the "ideal" reasons. For the average income of a chemist or engineer "is scarcely ever more than 400-500 marks," and the expenses of training as an officer are considerably lower and the time of training considerably less than for an academic profession. They must stand on their own feet as soon as possible and think they can do so most quickly in the fascist army.

And it is essentially reasons of economy and not of mentality that lead the parents to approve this choice of profession by their sons. Kraemer, whom we have quoted above, admits this when he demands "professional security" for the young diploma agriculturist, a demand which Todt also made for the young engineers in his radio talk. German finance capital pays its brain workers starvation wages, and it is these starvation wages which frighten students away from the academic professions.

But something else also frightens them away from the academic professions: the fact that anyone not directly belonging to the force apparatus of the National-Socialists must often enough "let himself be treated as a man accused" by the latter, as *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft itself admits.* According to the admissions of *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft,* even highly-paid bank and industrial directors are always exposed to the chicanery of any bureaucrat as soon as they "violate any letter of any one of the innumerable regulations, all of which cannot be kept in mind at once." Fascism has subjected all of German economy, industry, commerce, agriculture, banking, schools, and universities to its "totalitarian armament"; it has regimented, monopolized, and militarized them. Today this is becoming too much even for a part of the bourgeoisie itself. The magazine mentioned above writes:

"Finally, if no one possesses a desire to grow up into responsible professions of practical economy, there is merely a natural result."

These symptoms of demoralization among the fascist intellectuals are of the greatest importance for the anti-fascist struggle and the fight for peace. In capitalist countries the intellectuals are recruited largely from the petty-bourgeois youth and the children of the middle-class officials, and white-collar

workers. The material conditions of the petty bourgeoisie and of the mass of officials and white-collar workers is so much worse today, however, that most parents are no longer in a position to finance a long period of study for their children. The sons themselves—for the daughters are largely excluded from university study—seek out primarily those professions in which they can make an independent living in the quickest possible way.

To this there must no doubt be added the morally and mentally destructive effect of the fascist system of education upon bourgeois youth, with its race and national incitement, its glorification of bloody force, its drill, its annihilation of all independent thought, research, and judgment, and its destruction of personality and of proud, free traits of character. A youth manipulated in this fashion is, in part, wholly incapable of serious study.

Fascism is war, and hence signifies not merely the loss of political rights, not merely the material impoverishment of the widest toiling masses; it also signifies the devastation of the cultural caste existing up to now, the destruction of bourgeois civilization, and the return to barbarism. Not only the proletariat, but the wide masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the officials, the white-collar workers, and the free professions today have a common interest in putting an end to these orgies of devastation of civilization's achievements, of the brutalizing of the personality, of the extermination of civilization itself. They have a common interest in averting the threatening peril to humanity, which is in danger of having fascism rob it of the intellectual products of centuries and of being thrown back into a state of chronic murder of the peoples, savagery, and bestiality.

Cuckoo's Eggs in the Communist Press

BY G. FRIEDRICH

LENIN called the bourgeois newspapers "lie bombs." The labor press, on the other hand, is one of the most powerful weapons of the working class and its party. Unfortunately, but few Communist papers fulfil their task in this sense. In many cases the Communist press is far from a mass organ, a mouthpiece of the masses, in so far as its content, language, and distribution are concerned. And what is most important, it still has not found its own visage in many cases as yet.

The Communist press must serve nothing but the people and truth. Owing to insufficient vigilance, unfortunately, it happens time and again that individual news items or reports in Communist newspapers serve the class enemy directly or indirectly.

The class enemy, and fascism first of all, seeks various ways and means of dropping its "lie bombs" on the toiling masses. The channels through which it spreads its poison are of various kinds and take on all sorts of forms. There are newspapers that serve it willingly; there are corrupted newspapers and bribed editors; there are its news agencies, which operate under all sorts of names; there is a part of the Social-Democratic press through which the "Anti-Comintern" shoots its poisoned arrows at the Communist press; and last but not least, there are its agents which it endeavors to smuggle into our own ranks, into our editorial offices.

We know, or at least we ought to know, that all bourgeois news agencies serve certain capitalist interests, many of them even bearing the plain stamp of their fascist origin. Or are there still editors in Communist editorial offices who do not know that semi-official agencies, such as Havas and Reuter, for instance, essentially serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie, finance capital, and the capitalist aims and endeavors of their owners? Are there editors in Communist editorial offices who do not know that the *Deutsche Nachrichtenbüro* (D.N.B.), the *Deutsche Diplomatische Korrespondenz,* and the Japanese *Domei Zussin* agency, are outspoken fascist news services, supported by government funds, which have made lies and provocation their method of work?

Many editors will repudiate such an assumption with indignation. And yet time and again we find reports in our Communist press which originate in these fascist, anti-Communist news agencies.

No doubt the Communist press must often resort to bourgeois press reports because of timeliness. But that cannot and must not be done without commentary and a critical approach. The Communist editor must always approach reports from such sources with a certain amount of suspicion, not to mention fascist reports, for which there should be no room in the Communist press. The Communist press must not become a depository for fascist filth, either directly or indirectly.

The central organ of the Communist Party of Norway, *Arbeideren,* published in Oslo, and the central organ of the Communist Party of Sweden, *Ny Dag,* are the worst examples. Thus *Arbeideren* of April 25 printed a report of the

Karlsbad convention of the Sudeten German Party, the Hitler agency in Czechoslovakia, under the headline "Complete Freedom for the Sudeten Germans to Espouse Their German Nationality." It listed the familiar eight points of Henlein's demands, which are a translation of Hitler's plans of aggression and represent a direct attack upon the independence of Czechoslovakia as a state. It printed an extract from Henlein's provocatory speech and gave the strength of the Sudeten German Party in figures. Since the newspaper did not print a single word of comment on this report, the dispatch reads like propaganda for the aims of this Hitler agency.

On April 28 *Arbeideren* printed another dispatch of the same character. In letters a foot high we read: 'A Compromise Impossible Until Czechoslovakia Abandons Soviet Pact." The report printed under this "sensational" headline came from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* and was reproduced by the Havas correspondent in Berlin. These sources can be plainly read in *Arbeideren* but the working class reader does not learn from the columns of *Arbeideren* what the Communists' attitude toward this fascist demand is. A couple of days earlier (on April 26) one could have found an article of the *Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz*, entitled "Berlin Demands the Dissolution of Czechoslovakia," likewise reproduced in the same paper without commentary. This article contained the following passage:

"The Czechs, who always worked for the undermining of the old Hapsburg monarchy, have demonstrated in the twenty years of their rule that they are incapable of administering their new state in a manner corresponding to the interests of the peoples who commissioned them."

In the light of these repeated instances one must begin to doubt whether merely political ignorance on the part of the editorial board or of the editor in question is the cause of these grave political errors and open provocations.

Nor is the employment of provocatory fascist dispatches a specialty of the Oslo *Arbeideren* alone. On May 4, under the foot-high headline "Japan Protests Against the Soviet Union," the Stockholm *Ny Dag*, central organ of the Communist Party of Sweden, printed a report from Tokyo, transmitted through the *Deutsche Nachrichtenbüro* (!), in which the Japanese claims regarding the intervention of the Soviet Union in China are repeated. Though the newspaper had published Comrade Litvinov's detailed reply to a similar protest by the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow about one month before this, the abovementioned dispatch, originating in fascist sources, was printed in the form transmitted by the D.N.B., without a word of comment.

The Goebbels gang and their imitators in the various fascist countries spend piles of money to found and maintain newspapers that serve their aims willingly. But the criminal carelessness of many Communist editors enables these enemies of the workers to plant their lies and slanders with much less difficulty and expense.

Thus the central organs of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, *Rude Pravo* and *Rote Fahne*, both published in Prague, printed a dispatch in their issues of April 30 and May 1 which stated that the Moscow Comintern radio station had reported: "30,000 Soviet bombers over Berlin the day the first German soldier crosses the Czechoslovakian frontier." Aside from the fact that the editorial strategists in the *Rote Fahne* and *Rude Pravo* could easily have figured out what nonsense they were printing in view of the distance from Moscow to Berlin and the usual size of such a bomber, the open threat in the final sentence of the dispatch did not make them pause: "And the German workers should think this over in particular." This report came from the provocatory station I.R.S. in Rome, which sends out lies of this sort over the air systematically. Only the worst sort of hunting for sensations, which the

bourgeois press has turned into a system, could result in such provocations finding their way into our press too.

That was on May 1. And on May 6 we find a new false dispatch in the same *Rote Fahne*. Under the headline, "Voroshilov to the Worker Delegates: The Red Army Is Ready," the *Rote Fahne* reported that the foreign worker delegates were received in the Kremlin by the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government and that Voroshilov addressed them. The only thing that is true in this report is that a reception actually took place in the Kremlin, but not for the foreign worker delegates, rather for a delegation of the participants in the parade on Red Square. *Rude Pravo*, whose offices are right next to the editorial offices of *Rote Fahne* (they are both in the same building), printed this report the day before, but printed it correctly.

The mistakes noted in the Spanish Communist press run along the same line. *Frente Rojo* of April 24 published an article in which the names of the fascist murderers and wreckers, who were condemned long ago by the popular sentence of the Soviet toilers, were mentioned in inadmissible fashion. On April 26 *Frente Rojo* published material for the press as an article attributed to Georgi Dimitroff; this was also done on April 26 by *Trebal*, the organ of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. Both of these papers are published in Barcelona; both newspapers fell victims to a hoax as a result of the careless work of a member of the staff of the Aima press agency. Here we have typical examples of how enemy contraband can get into the Communist press as a result of lack of vigilance on the part of the responsible editors.

Slips and errors of this sort could not occur in the Communist press if their staffs always kept in mind that lies, slander, and deception are the weapons of the capitalist press. The weapon of the Communist press is proletarian class truth.

Communist editors often want to be witty. But we often find in the Communist press irony, cartoons, and pictures that have nothing to do with true proletarian, militant humor. They are jokes that the workers do not understand, literary men's café jokes. In this way anti-Semitic, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet jokes are sometimes circulated. The London *Daily Worker* (the column entitled "A Worker's Notebook"), the Prague *Rote Fahne* (the column entitled "*Stich und Hieb*"), and the Stockholm *Ny Dag* are especially distinguished by such "jokes." The last-named paper has a humorous column "*Röda Rapp* (Red Blows), which likes to publish notes that are meant ironically, but in reality contain the silliest and most scandalous insults to the Soviet Union and its leaders. Thus *Ny Dag* on May 4 printed in full a report of the bourgeois reactionary newspaper, *Stockholms Tidningen*, reproducing word for word that paper's infamous slanders and following them merely with a meaningless sentence which was meant to be funny.

Should our press banish wit and caricature from its columns? By no means. But the cartoons and the humor of the proletarian press must serve the struggle of our press and attack the capitalist system of society mercilessly. The cartoons of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press, which are too often taken over and imitated by the Communist press, are largely of a pure amusement character, and their political cartoons do not awaken laughter that kills, but laughter that forgives.

The Communist press should be lively. In his speech at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitroff gave us guiding principles for agitation and propaganda. He said:

"Many of our comrades think that the more high-sounding words, and the more formulas and theses unintelligible to the masses they use, the better their agitation and propaganda, forgetting that the greatest leaders and theoreticians of the working class of our epoch, Lenin and Stalin, have always spoken

and written in highly popular language, readily understood by the masses.

"Every one of us must make this a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

*"When writing or speaking always have in mind the rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you! You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak."**

Not all Communist editors and members of the staff of our press have as yet taken to heart these words of Dimitroff's, whose own writings are shining examples of clarity and simplicity of language. Political word-rattling, "smart" comments, and things that have no connection with life are often to be met with in our press. The Communist press has to wage a difficult struggle against the more powerful bourgeois press, which is equipped with all the technical and material resources. In this hard competitive struggle it should and must make use of the best forms of journalism. This includes the employment of illustrations and photos. But in doing so the Communist press must maintain a face of its own. There are splendid pictures from the Soviet Union, pictures of life in the Red Army. There are pictures of the heroic struggles of the Spanish and Chinese peoples against the fascist and imperialist invaders. There are documentary photos, whose pictures are a ringing indictment of the torturers of the toiling people. There are pictures that tell of the might of the united defensive struggle of the proletariat in various countries. Those are the pictures that ensure a lively appearance to the Communist press.

Unfortunately we often find the Communist press printing photos of the fascist leaders in various poses and uniforms, pictures of military parades, war pictures of the fascist intervention troops, and pictures of swastikas on flags, uniforms, and buildings. Pictures of this sort are to be found chiefly in the Toronto *Daily Clarion*, organ of the Communist Party of Canada, the Brussels *Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Communist Party of Belgium, as well as in other papers. In nine issues of the *Daily Clarion* that we looked through we found no less than seventeen illustrations which are propaganda for the fascists in pictorial form. On May 4 the Paris *l'Humanité*, in one of its editions, published a photo of the burning of the books by the fascists in Salzburg with the caption: "The Works of Jewish (!) Marxists Burned in Salzburg."

And that isn't all. The forms in which fascist propaganda penetrates into our press are many-sided. The Strasburg *l'Humanité* publishes in its weekly radio supplement the program of the fascist Stuttgart broadcasting station, including the hours at which news is sent out. Can one imagine that the *Voelkische Beobachter*, say, would advertise the broadcast programs of the Moscow Comintern station in the same way? Likewise repeated advertisements in the Strasburg *l'Humanité* recommend that its working class readers buy and read Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Nor do they forget to mention the price of the book and the address of the bookstore where this libelous work of Hitler can be procured. Can one imagine that Goebbels' *Angriff* or Henlein's *Zeit* would advertise, say, the text of the Soviet Constitution or Marxist works in the same way?

We have newspapers, such as the London *Daily Worker* or the Zurich *Freiheit*, which publish Dimitroff's important articles and other fundamental articles only piecemeal, in installments. The reason they give for this is the wholly invalid one of lack of space. On the other hand, the Zurich *Freiheit*, for instance, had almost three-quarters of a page in its May 4 issue devoted to the review of an unimportant book by an Intourist traveler on dentistry in the Soviet Union, reprinted from an equally unimportant magazine, the *Schweizerlische Monatszeitschrift*.

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* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, pp. 115-116, International Publishers, New York.

The editor must always keep in mind the great responsibility he bears toward the working class readers of his paper.

It is not without interest to re-read in this connection what Lenin says regarding the author's relationship to his readers. In a criticism of the magazine *Svoboda*, Lenin writes:

"A popular writer does not presuppose an unthinking reader, a reader who doesn't want to or cannot read; on the contrary he presupposes in the undeveloped reader a serious intention to use his head, and he helps him to do this serious and difficult work, teaching him to go ahead independently. A vulgar writer presupposes a reader who doesn't think and is unable to think; he does not acquaint him with the first beginnings of serious science, but sets before him all the conclusions of a familiar doctrine in a distorted and simplied form, seasoned with little jokes and phrases, so that the reader does not even have to chew, but need only swallow the broth."*

We must mention still another deficiency of our press. It is the offense of quoting at length from the enemy. In polemics it is absolutely necessary, of course, to quote the enemy. But that can only be done to shatter the enemy's arguments. Our press, however, often prints quotations from fascist and Trotskyite papers and speeches of an outspokenly anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, and counter-revolutionary character. And this is done either without any commentary at all, or if comment is made, the quotations are printed at such length and in such a form as to serve only our enemy. In this way we often find quotations to which nothing but the meaningless words are added: "No comment is necessary." In fact, our papers sometimes do not even find room for these few words and let the quotations speak for themselves. Such a method of polemic and quotation is wholly false and inadmissible. By being printed on the paper of the Communist press the words and insults of the enemy do not take on a different meaning, but merely obtain wider publication.

We have indicated these mistakes in order to help our press combat and eliminate all these defects and inadequacies. The struggle against "cuckoo's eggs" and "lie bombs" must be waged with consistent determination. We must ensure that the obligation of the Party leaderships to give universal guidance to their press organs and to check on them systematically be carried out. In so doing our press will emulate those good Communist papers that are developing into mass organs or are already mass papers. We have the Paris *l'Humanité*, which is a model organ of the People's Front, not only by virtue of its circulation, but in the way it is written. We have the courageous *Frente Rojo*, which performs invaluable service every day in mobilizing the anti-fascist forces for struggle against the fascist invaders and which includes José Diaz, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, Pasionaria, the tribune of the people, and the thousands of nameless fighters in the Republican Army among its closest collaborators. We have the American *Daily Worker*, which has developed into a real political factor that even the enemy must recognize.

The example of the Bolshevik *Pravda*, which, as the organ of Lenin and Stalin, is of immeasurable importance for the international labor movement, is a shining example. It is a model and an education for the Communist press in the capitalist countries. To master its clear language, the language of the Bolsheviks, is the aim of the Communist press. Its profound connections with its working class readers, supported by the wide network of worker correspondents, should and must be emulated by the real people's press, which is fighting against fascism and war, and is organizing the anti-fascist People's Front. To the international proletariat the *Pravda* is the shining example of struggle and victory.

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* This comment on the *Svoboda* was written in the autumn of 1901, at the time Lenin was editing the *Iskra*.

Soviet Deputies at Work

BY G. LEITNER

WHAT comprises the activity of a deputy in the present German Reichstag? This question would, to say the least, embarrass the German worker, peasant, or bourgeois, just as a similar question would embarrass a voter in any other fascist country. He has nothing to say about the nomination of "his" candidate, for the more than 700 candidates in the last plebiscite were named for all Germany and Austria by a Nazi party clique.

Oen of these candidates, for instance, is Herr Thyssen, king of the Ruhr, who controls mines, blast furnaces, and steel plants worth hundreds of millions of marks and exploits hundreds of thousands of workers. Did this gentleman ever present himself before his constituents? Does he tell them, in meetings or through the press, how he takes care of their interests? Would constituents turn to him for aid in handling complaints or in fulfilling their demands?

The activity of the "representative of the people" Thyssen, or of any other deputy of this stripe, can be described in very few words. He meets together with the other members of the Nazi parliament perhaps once a year, listens to a proclamation by the "Fuehrer," and goes back home. Perhaps not even that, for Thyssen belongs to the clique of Junkers and captains of industry who comprise the inner circle of the Nazi dictatorship and whose orders Hitler receives. So it is not impossible that Herr Thyssen stays away from the fascist Reichstag comedies, leaving attendance to the lower Nazi bureaucrats, for whom a Reichstag session affords an opportunity to recuperate from the exertions of their other activities. Herr Thyssen's post as "people's representative" gives him, at most, additional opportunities for promoting his own interests by influencing, through backstairs channels, officials awarding government contracts for war materials.

In the Soviet Union the great socialist revolution has given rise to the new, socialist, democracy and with it the type of the true representative of the people. One of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union is the miner Stakhanov from the Donetz area. He introduced new methods of coal-cutting in socialist mining, organized the most efficient utilization of the technical equipment, and gave the signal for the great initiative of the masses of toilers to raise socialist production. The toilers elected him to the Supreme Soviet because of his personal example and his loyalty to their cause. Thyssen, the big exploiter—Stakhanov, the representative of emancipated socialist labor!

What is true of the miner Stakhanov also holds for the other deputies of the land of the Soviets, whose activities we propose to outline briefly. The activity of a Soviet deputy reflects the pulsating, varied life of the land of the Soviets, with all its tasks and aims. From the tasks of socialist construction, with its thousands of details, to the everyday affairs of the Soviet toilers, from the current political information of his electors to the most intensive attention to the cultural rise of the toilers—all this falls within the daily scope of a Soviet deputy, whom

the electors have entrusted with such a responsible and important function. Among the members of the Supreme Soviet there are many Stakhanov workers, who were elected by the Soviet people principally because of their magnificent achievements in production, which serve all the community. The Soviet deputy considers his task to be more than laying down the policy of socialist construction and voting the corresponding resolutions during the sessions of the Supreme Soviet. He plays a leading part in socialist construction in practice, through his personal example. As deputies, many Stakhanov workers make the experiences they have gathered in production available to the masses of toilers.

Take Ivan Gudov, for instance, a worker in a Moscow machinery plant and deputy of the Supreme Soviet. He lectures in many cities of the Soviet Union on the methods of work he employs at his lathe, which make possible a very considerable increase in production. He combines this with his reports to his constituents on the sessions of the Supreme Soviet.

"It is astonishing to see with what fascination the workers listen to the slightest details," he writes. "They ask hundreds of questions and make comments that reveal great technical experience."

As a result of his lectures on his methods of work Gudov carries on a lively correspondence with the workers. Gudov's experiences destroy the legend regarding the alleged inertia of the Russian worker that used to be circulated by the capitalists.

Belyakov, deputy and Hero of the Soviet Union, has been making a thorough study of the economic structure of his constituency, including the factories and collective farms. He noticed certain shortcomings in the employment of tractors on the collective farms and in tractor repairs, upon which he made definite suggestions for their elimination to the Soviet institutions in question. He studied the power economy of his constituency and made proposals for the organization of fuel supply.

Here are the words of Deputy Koryunka, chairman of a collective farm, who concerns herself principally with pig-raising:

"I am collaborating very closely with leading Soviet officials, am in very close touch with my constituents, and feel their tremendous support every day. That is why I am able to solve problems quickly."

Koryunka was awarded the Order of Lenin for her achievements in socialist cattle-raising.

"I cannot tear myself away from our collective farm," she once said. "I went away, and all the time I was gone I worried whether everything was in order, for I had worked there ever since it was organized, and the welfare of the livestock lies close to my heart."

And so it is understandable why this collective farm has grown famous throughout the district. It has become a pig-breeding laboratory in which many collective farmers add to their knowledge.

Then there is the Volga German deputy Grauberger, head of a dairy farm, whose name has been placed on the tablet of honor of the Volga German Republic for her outstanding achievements. This farm under the direction of a Soviet deputy also is a model for other establishments of this sort.

The spirit permeating the activity of the Soviet deputies was most beautifully expressed by Papanin, the hero of the North Pole and a Soviet deputy:

"When I spoke at meetings, I always declared that every Soviet citizen has *his own 'North Pole'* in his own life and his own work—a peak of achievement toward which he is striving. This idea met with universal approval. In reply, the workers and collective farmers promised to give the country more coal, metal, grain, sugar, cotton, machinery, and clothing."

The Soviet deputy plays an important part in the political education of the

masses of toilers. He reports to his constituents on the activity of the Supreme Soviet and on his own work, and receives the requests and proposals of his constituents, mindful of the words of Lenin and Stalin that the Soviet official must learn from the masses.

The deputies are especially active in the forthcoming elections to the Soviets of the union republics of the Soviet Union. The deputy's task here is not merely to speak to his constituents, but to take part in training new propaganda personnel. This is what Deputy Postnikova has to say:

"During the period of preparation for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a large and active corps of propagandists has been developed, which is continuing its work after the elections as well. I get numerous reports and inquiries from propagandists. They ask me to give them advice on how to organize and perform their work more effectively."

Deputy Savada reports in the press on the election campaign for the Soviet of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic; he tells of intensive agitation and propaganda work to mobilize and educate the voters, and the organization of study groups to study the Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the election regulations. But even this activity is also closely bound up with practical tasks, for Savada says that the election campaign is linked with powerful activization of socialist competition and the training of new personnel for production.

Day by day attention to the welfare of his constituents is a large part of a Soviet deputy's activity. There are thousands of detail problems to be solved, each of them very important in the life of the constituent. Deputy Stakhanov receives many letters from his constituents and is in contact with them through the local newspapers. A collective farm asked him to aid them in getting a motor truck. Stakhanov helped them. Another collective farm lacked building material for two new houses of culture. He helped them to get the material. He aided cripples to get artificial limbs. Deputy Klimenko took up the case of a young teacher who had been discharged for a minor mistake as a result of bureaucratic indifference. Klimenko saw to it that his rights were protected. Wherever justified complaints are to be relieved and shortsighted bureaucrats are to be rebuked, the Soviet deputy takes a hand, by openly clearing up the facts and by calling the attention of the local and governmental Soviet organs to justified complaints and abuses.

Over and above his practical activity, the Soviet deputy and his Soviet constituents are bound together by the common feeling of being members of a socialist family. This is strikingly expressed by Deputy Stakhanov as follows:

"I also get many letters from my constituents in which they turn to me as their friend, confiding their thoughts and feelings in connection with various events. Thus, my constituents wrote me about their indignation and their hatred of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite bandits during the course of the trial of these murderers.

"When the Soviet icebreakers took the four Papanin men off the ice floe and brought them to the mainland, my constituents wrote me of their pride as patriots of the land of socialism and of their readiness to defend their magnificent country with the last drop of their blood."

This is how the Soviet deputy is so closely bound up with his constituents in his activity. He takes an active part in their experiences, their problems, their successes. For the Soviet deputy is the precise opposite of certain parliamentarians in the capitalist countries, who look down upon their constituents as nothing but voting cattle, who are led to vote for them during the elections by means of demagogic tricks. In the Soviet Union the masses of toilers are able, for the first time, to take part in running the state in the sense of Lenin's words: that every cook must be drawn into the running of the state.

Comrade Stalin characterized the rela-

tionship between the deputies and the toilers in the Soviet Union in the following words:

"The deputy must know that he is a servant of the people, their envoy in the Supreme Soviet, and he must conduct himself along the line of the instructions given him by the people. Once he swerves from the path, the electors have the right to demand the holding of new elections and they have the right to blackball the deputy who has swerved from the path." *

When Hitler and other fascist dictators find it necessary to mask the naked dictatorship of monopoly capital and the landowners through a powerless parliament, it is the best proof that they fear the desire for the right of democratic self-determination that lives on in the minds of a people, no matter how oppressed it may be. The dictatorship of wealth is founded principally on fascism's machinery of force: bayonets and police clubs. Concealing this reality by a constitutional facade is the purpose of the fake parliaments of fascism. But the masses of the people in the fascist countries will grow more and more conscious of their unworthy situation, which prescribes for them only the role of voting cattle, without a will of their own, who are being prepared for sacrifice as cannon-fodder in the next world slaughter.

Every man has the desire to play a part of his own in deciding the problems of his daily life, to have a real voice in settling the policy of his country. No power in the world will be able to prevent the toiling masses of the fascist countries from learning to contrast the functions of their uniformed and drilled "deputies" with the fruitful activity of the deputies of the Soviet people, which is realizing the interests of the masses of toilers. In this sense what Comrade Stalin said in his report on the new Constitution of the Soviet Union applies to the activity of the Soviet deputy:

"The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be a moral aid and a real assistance to all those who today are fighting fascist barbarism." *

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* "Stalin Speaks to His Electors," in *The Communist International*, January, 1938.

* *Stalin on the New Soviet Constitution*, p. 30. International Publishers. New York.

A Great Friendship

By N. RUBINSTEIN

PART II

THE young Soviet Republic was experiencing difficult days full of incident. The Soviet power was being built up throughout the country, the old foundations of the state were being thoroughly demolished, a tense struggle was being waged for the consolidation of the state of the proletarian dictatorship and for the operation of Lenin's decrees.

These days saw the conspiracies of the Cadets, and of the Mensheviks and S.R.'s (who stood for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly), the first attacks of the bourgeois and landlord counter-revolution in the shape of Kaledin, Kornilov, the Haidamaks, the offensive of German imperialism. All the bitterest enemies were offering furious resistance to the working people, who had taken state power into their hands. These days saw the second betrayal by Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov, agents of the enemy in the ranks of the Party, and the treacherous activity of the handful of capitulators that included Trotsky, Pyatakov, Radek, Bukharin—whereby the very existence of the Soviet power was threatened.

In these difficult and menacing days it was only the supreme wisdom and unshakable steadfastness of Lenin and Stalin, the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, that determined the victory of the working people.

The tenser the atmosphere, the more definitely manifested were the friendship, the unity of thought and singleness of will of Lenin and Stalin, in every step taken by the Bolshevik Party.

When it became necessary to explain the significance of the great October Revolution to the working people of Finland, and to rally them to the struggle against the bourgeoisie, Comrade Stalin, on Lenin's proposal, went to Finland and made a momentous speech at the Congress of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party.

The most important documents of the Soviet government were drawn up and signed jointly by Lenin and Stalin. Thus, the appeal of the Council of People's Commissars dated December 3, 1917, addressed "to all Mohammedan working people of Russia and the East" was signed by Lenin and Stalin.

Lenin and Stalin jointly waged a relentless struggle against all capitulators who stood in the way of the proletarian revolution.

Dealing blow after blow at the counter-revolution, Lenin secured the adoption on December 11 of the "Decree on the Arrest of the Leaders of the Civil War Against the Revolution." This decree paralyzed the uprising of the Cadets aimed at overthrowing Soviet power. When Bukharin came out against Lenin's decree, he received a ruthless rebuff from Stalin, who defended Lenin's line.

"At the present time," said Comrade Stalin, denouncing Bukharin at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, "we must definitely put an end to the Cadets or they will do so to us, for they have opened fire upon us."

Lenin and Stalin were the joint authors of that most important historical document, the "Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People." The manuscript of this program of the Soviet

Power, in which Lenin's handwriting is interwoven with that of Comrade Stalin, shows the great importance attached to this document by Lenin and Stalin, and how thoroughly they worked on it. Many points in the document were originally written by Lenin, then gone over by Stalin, and once again edited and supplemented by Lenin.

The "Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People" declared that the basic aim which the Soviet power set itself was:

". . . the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the complete elimination of the class division of society, the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the establishment of the socialist organization of society, and the victory of socialism in all lands. . . ."

How splendid these words, written twenty years ago by the great leaders of the proletarian socialist revolution, sound now in the epoch of the Stalin Constitution!

Lenin and Stalin were the joint authors of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia"—that supreme monument to the October Revolution, which proclaimed the basis of the national policy of the state of the proletarian dictatorship.

They were also the joint authors of that other historical document—the decree on the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. Lenin specially asked for Comrade Stalin, who was absent at the time, to be called in, and together worked on the draft of this decree. Lenin wrote the original text of it. Stalin then made editorial changes in this text and reformulated the section dealing with the desperate struggle of the Party of the "Right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries" and the Mensheviks against the Soviet power, and of the counter-revolutionary role of the Right wing of the Constituent Assembly. Comrade Stalin wrote this section out in full on the second page of the manuscript and at the end of the page Lenin made the following brief addition to Stalin's text: "Therefore, the Central Executive Committee resolves that the Constituent Assembly be disbanded."

At the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which drove the last nail into the coffin of the Constituent Assembly, Lenin and Stalin gave the chief reports and unfolded a grand program for building up Soviet power.

At this Congress Lenin gave the report of the Council of People's Commissars, while Comrade Stalin was the reporter on the National Question.

In the concluding part of his speech, Lenin emphasized the importance of the Congress decision adopted on Comrade Stalin's report, regarding the federal institutions of the Russian republic.

"In Russia," said Lenin, "in the sphere of home policy the new state system of the Socialist Soviet Republics as a federation of free republics of the various nations inhabiting Russia, has now been finally recognized. . . . This federation will grow on an absolutely voluntary basis, free of lies and violence, and is invincible."*

Lenin and Stalin were in the closest contact as they carried through the gigantic work of directing the Soviet state in the first months of Soviet power. On January 6, Lenin went to Finland for several days, not far from Petrograd. His place in the Council of People's Commissars was taken by Comrade Stalin. Among other decrees, on January 9, Comrade Stalin signed one on the nationalization of the Putilov Plant; three days later, Lenin, on his return, signed a decree on the confiscation of the property of the millionaire Putilov.

The decree of January 11, 1918, which proclaimed the self-determination of Russian-occupied Turkish Armenia, was written by Stalin and bore the signatures of Lenin and Stalin. The most distant parts of the immense Soviet country received telegraphic instructions signed by Lenin and Stalin. When a delegation of Don Cossacks in Novocherkassk raised the question of the autonomy of the Don region with the right independently to

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, pp. 223-24, Russian ed.

solve the land problem, a telegram signed by Lenin and Stalin was sent in reply conveying greetings to the revolutionary Cossacks. To Shaumyan in Baku Comrade Stalin sent instructions which were followed by the message from Lenin: "All I can do is fully to support Stalin's telegram."

A telegram to Tashkent, addressed to the Congress of Soviets of the Turkestan region, conveying greetings and confirming that the Council of People's Commissars would support the autonomy of Turkestan on a Soviet basis, bore the signatures of Lenin and Stalin.

When the leaders of the Murmansk Soviet, supported by the traitor Trotsky, resorted to a treacherous policy of capitulation to the Anglo-French forces of intervention, Lenin and Stalin conducted negotiations by telegraph with Murmansk, exposing the traitors and Trotsky's base policy.

Lenin and Stalin wired the demand to the Vladivostok Soviet that measures be taken in connection with the Japanese intervention. Like many others, this telegram also bore the signatures of Lenin and Stalin.

During these days Lenin conducted an intensive struggle, hand in hand with Comrade Stalin, for the breathing space so necessary for the Soviet country.

The first instructions on the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations, in December, 1917, the so-called draft program of peace negotiations* were the work of Lenin, who wrote the first part dealing with the general political issues, and of Comrade Stalin, who wrote the second part which formulated the concrete demands of the Soviet government.

The brief fragmentary minutes of meetings of the Party Central Committee show how Lenin and Stalin routed Trotsky, Pyatakov and Bukharin, individuals who, as is known, joined with the Left S.R.'s in preparing the overthrow of the Soviet power and to place Pyatakov at the head of a counter-revolutionary government.

". . . A very healthy child, the Socialist Republic, has been born, and we can only kill it by beginning war," said Comrade Lenin. "Either a breathing space or the Revolution is ruined," declared Comrade Stalin.

All the important telegrams dispatched to Brest-Litovsk designed to break Trotsky's sabotage, which was so fatal for the Revolution, were sent in the names of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin conferred with Comrade Stalin on all questions upon which the fate of the young Soviet Republic depended.

On April 9, Lenin and Stalin signed the decree of the Council of People's Commissars establishing an Extraordinary Commissariat of the Southern districts presided over by Comrade Sergo Orjonikidze.

The Germans and Haidamaks were advancing. On April 22, Comrade Stalin reported to the Council of People's Commissars that the Haidamaks had captured Chertkovo Station. On the same day Lenin signed an instruction of the Council of People's Commissars to the People's Commissariat of War, which read in part:

". . . All possible measures must immediately be taken to defend the Eastern border of Kharkov province, particularly Chertkovo Station. . . . See Stalin for details."*

On April 27, 1918, Comrade Stalin, at the initiative of Lenin, was appointed plenipotentiary representative of the R.S.F.S.R. to conduct peace negotiations with the Ukrainian Rada (Parliament). Comrade Stalin fulfilled Lenin's instructions in an extremely short space of time. On May 5 already news was flashed over the radio from Moscow to Voronezh, Rostov and Briansk regarding the conclusion of an armistice on the German-Ukrainian front, and giving the text of the treaty.** The text of this radiogram was written by Lenin, supplemented and signed by Comrade Stalin. The next day Lenin and Stalin jointly drew up the draft of a radiogram to the peace delegation in Kursk in connection with Skoro-

* Lenin, *Miscellany*, Vol. XI, p. 15, Russian ed.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 63, Russian ed.
** *Ibid.*, p. 67.

padsky's coup in the Ukraine and the continued offensive of the Germans in the Southeast.*

Dark clouds gathered over the Soviet Republic. The counter-revolution made up of the bourgeois and landlords, Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionaries in coalition with the Anglo-French and German imperialists employed the bayonets of the Czechoslovaks, of General Krassnov, the bandit warfare waged by the kulaks and the bony hand of hunger in the attempt to strangle the Land of the Soviets.

"Full of battles, of fighting for the Red Flag of Labor, nineteen eighteen, the year of our song," run the words of the popular song of today.

Lenin sent Comrade Stalin, his best comrade-in-arms, to the most decisive section of the battlefront upon which depended the defense of the country and its salvation from famine.

"People's Commissar, Joseph Vissarionovich *Stalin*, member of the Council of People's Commissars, is appointed by the Council of People's Commissars to take general charge of food supplies in the south of Russia, and is granted extraordinary powers. Local and regional Councils of People's Commissars, Soviets, Revolutionary Committees, Military Staffs and Commanders of detachments, railway organizations and station-masters, mercantile marine (river and ocean) organizations, postal, telegraph and food organizations, all Commissars and emissaries are obliged to fulfill the orders of Comrade *Stalin*" — reads the mandate issued to Comrade Stalin, signed by Lenin on May 31, 1918.

Comrade Stalin left for Tsaritsin. In the course of three and a half months almost 1,000 kilometers of battle fronts separated Lenin and Stalin.

The leaders of the great proletarian revolution maintained contact by telegraph. But the dozens of telegrams and letters that Lenin and Stalin exchanged at that time tell of their real contact in those grim and menacing days.

Stalin reported to Lenin every carload of food sent by him to the famine-stricken center of the country; he reported on the situation at the front, on the measures he had taken in the struggle against Krassnov's counter-revolutionary forces, and against the traitors and saboteurs appointed by Trotsky.

Lenin sought Stalin's counsel on all the most vital political questions; he informed him of the position in the country and entrusted him with the immediate guidance of affairs in Azerbaijan and Turkestan.

"Dear Comrade Shaumyan," wrote Lenin on June 29, 1918, to Baku, "I send you my best greetings and good wishes. Stalin is in Tsaritsin. You had better send your letter through Stalin. Greetings, yours, Lenin."

Comrade Stalin, in transmitting very important political instructions to Shaumyan, told him:

"All this must be accepted not as my personal opinion, but as the proposal of Lenin, with whom I spoke yesterday over the direct wire on all the questions concerned."

In a special appeal of the Council of People's Commissars "To All Working People," issued on June 10, 1918, Lenin stated that Comrade Stalin was organizing relief for the famine-stricken North.

When the position with regard to food supplies became particularly difficult, Lenin wired to Stalin: ". . . There is no other source but you."*

On receiving Comrade Stalin's telegram about the need to remove Trotsky's man, General Snessarov, Lenin wrote the following note on it: "In my opinion we must agree with Stalin."

"Agree with Stalin"—such in essence was the content of all Lenin's replies to reports and proposals from Comrade Stalin.

On July 7, the Socialist-Revolutionaries organized a counter-revolutionary uprising in Moscow. On that very day Lenin informed Stalin of the events. Within a few hours Stalin wired a message from Tsaritsin in which he said: "As for the hysterical ones, you may be sure that

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 74, Russian ed.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 193, Russian ed.

our hand will not waver. We shall deal with enemies as enemies deserve."

These short telegrams of Lenin and Stalin sound remarkably touching "Warm greetings to my beloved older comrade, Lenin," are the opening words of one of Stalin's telegrams. And when word was received at Tsaritsin of the foul attempt of the White-Guard Socialist-Revolutionaries on the life of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, together with Voroshilov, immediately wired back that the Military Council of the North Caucasian Military District was replying to this villainous, base and cowardly attack by the "organization of open, mass, systematic terror against the bourgeoisie and its agents."

At the request of Comrade Stalin, Moscow kept Tsaritsin informed by wire of Lenin's state of health.

On recovering from his wound, Lenin received a letter from Comrade Stalin requesting that the despatch of gunboats and submarines be speeded up. "I shake the hand of my dear and beloved Ilyich. Yours, Stalin," were the concluding words of this letter.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, omitting the personal salutation at the beginning and close of the letter, forwarded it to Petrograd as his own instructions and under his own signature.

In mid-September Comrade Stalin came to Moscow for a few days. On September 19, Lenin and Stalin jointly signed a message of greetings to the troops at the Tsaritsin front.

"Convey our fraternal greetings," reads this message, "to the heroic commanders and to all the revolutionary troops of the Tsaritsin front fighting so courageously to maintain the power of the workers and peasants."

Comrade Stalin left again for Tsaritsin and only returned to Moscow in October.

Lenin and Stalin closely followed the developing German Revolution. On October 23, 1918, a message signed by Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov was phoned to Berlin greeting Karl Liebknecht on his release from prison.

The ring of fire of the fighting fronts was closing in on the Soviet Republic. Lenin and Stalin spent much time at the big map in Lenin's study in the Kremlin, closely following the position at the fronts. Together they directed the defense of the country.

In January, the threat existed that Kolchak, who had already captured the town of Perm on December 24, would break through the entire Eastern Front which had been considerably disorganized as a result of Trotsky's sabotage of Lenin's instructions. On December 31, 1918, Lenin, uneasy about the position at the front, wired the following message:

"Several reports are to be heard from Party sources around Perm regarding the catastrophic position in the army and about cases of drunkenness. I thought of sending Stalin there. . . ."

A few days later, Lenin secured the adoption by the Central Committee of the Party of a decision to send Comrade Stalin to the Eastern front.

Comrade Stalin's telegrams to Lenin from around Perm are just as concise and to the point as his reports from Tsaritsin.

From Stalin's very first report Lenin saw that only Comrade Stalin's presence at the front could ensure the necessary change in the situation. On January 14, 1919, Vladimir Ilyich wired as follows to Stalin and Dzerzhinsky at the town of Glasov with instructions that the message was to follow them if they were not there:

"Received and read your first coded message. Urgently request both you personally take charge operations on spot of measures proposed otherwise there is no guarantee success. Lenin."

Vladimir Ilyich made the following note on the memorandum submitted by Comrades Stalin and Dzerzhinsky regarding the measures necessary to achieve victory: "I associate myself with this demand of the two Central Committee members."

Comrade Stalin organized the victory at the Eastern front.

". . . Comrade Stalin," Comrade Voroshilov has written, "here again outlined, and with the rapidity and firmness char-

acteristic of him carried out a number of practical measures to raise the fighting capacity of the Third Army. . . .

"As a result of all these measures, not only was the further advance of the enemy checked, but in January, 1919, the Eastern front passed to the offensive, so that the town of Uralsk was captured by us on our right flank."

Several months passed by. In March, 1919, at the Eighth Party Congress Lenin and Stalin jointly defended the Party's line on the military question against Pyatakov, Safarov and V. Smirnov, and destroyed Trotsky's attempt to do away with the Party's leadership over the army.

And here again the views of Lenin and Stalin were in complete harmony. ". . . What is wanted is iron discipline," declared Lenin at the Congress. "All the questions dealt with here can be boiled down to the one question as to whether there is or is not to be a strictly disciplined army in Russia,"* emphasized Comrade Stalin.

In March, 1919, on Lenin's initiative Comrade Stalin while continuing to hold the post of People's Commissar of Nationalities was appointed People's Commissar of State Control. Lenin attached exceptional importance to the organization and activity of this new Commissariat, in the work of which Lenin saw the means of developing socialist democracy and consolidating the entire state machine of the proletarian dictatorship.

Together with Stalin, he carefully discussed the draft decree on state control, submitted by Comrade Stalin.

On April 3, 1919, in a letter to Comrade Stalin, Lenin developed the program of work for organizing state control.

Comrade Stalin added the following note to Lenin's letter:

"These are all questions of the policy of the reorganized state control. I have nothing fundamentally against these points, on the contrary, I think they are necessary. Stalin." **

On April 12 of the same year, the decree on state control was published over the signatures of Lenin, Stalin and Kalinin.

The offensive of the White Guard armies again concentrated all the attention of Lenin and Stalin on the leadership of military operations at the front. In May the position of Tsaritsin became threatening; at the same time Yudenich was advancing on Petrograd. The threat to Tsaritsin was aggravated by the fact that Zinoviev, who later became an out-and-out enemy of the people and on the sentence of the Soviet Court was shot in 1936, disorganized the defense of Petrograd and spread panic in a criminal way.

During these days, Lenin, in giving thought to the plan of the defense of Tsaritsin, reminded the Army Command of Stalin's heroic leadership of the defense of Tsaritsin in 1918. On May 30, 1919, Lenin sent the following wire to Tsaritsin:

"Immediately appoint a group of highly responsible and energetic Tsaritsin officials who participated in carrying out measures decided on by Stalin in defense of Tsaritsin and instruct them to begin to carry out all these measures with the same energy."

On Lenin's instructions cadres created by Stalin were to defend Tsaritsin! Comrade Stalin himself, after completing the work on the Western front assigned to him by Lenin, left again on the initiative of Vladimir Ilyich to organize the defense of Petrograd.

While preparing the defeat of the armies of Yudenich and directing this defeat, Comrade Stalin maintained constant contact with Lenin and kept him informed of what he was doing. In the very first days after his arrival in Petrograd, Comrade Stalin sent two notes to Lenin enumerating the military measures necessary to crush Yudenich. Lenin immediately replied to Comrade Stalin: "Received both your notes. Reached detailed agreement . . . regarding constant supervision over their fulfillment."

Soon after this, Comrade Stalin informed Lenin of the change that had taken place at the front. Reporting the

* Joseph Stalin, *On the Opposition*, p. 668.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIX, p. 379, Russian ed.

capture by the Red Army of the "Red Hill" and "Gray Horse" forts, Comrade Stalin wired to Lenin:

"The rapid capture of 'Red Hill' is explained by outright intervention on my part and on the part of civilians in general in the operative affairs of military headquarters; this sometimes went as far as the cancellation of orders to the naval and land forces and the imposition of our own orders. I consider it my duty to declare that I shall act in the same manner in the future despite all my reverence for science."

Stalin's second telegram to Lenin reported that victory had begun. ". . . Yesterday our offensive began. . . . To date it is progressing successfully, the White Guards are retreating. . . ." On June 28, 1919, Comrade Stalin wired news to Lenin about the decisive victories of the Red Army.

Lenin replied to Comrade Stalin in the following words:

"If the situation at the Petrograd front is favorable, all efforts must be strained to deliver a rapid and decisive blow because the troops are urgently needed elsewhere."

Comrade Stalin completed this "rapid and decisive blow" of which Lenin wrote. The White Guard troops were crushed. Petrograd was no longer in danger. For a short time Comrade Stalin went to Moscow.

In the summer of 1919, Yudenich was routed. Within three months, the enemy threatened the heart of the Republic; Denikin was closing in on Moscow, had captured Kursk and was menacing Tula. Lenin, ruthlessly condemning the inactivity of the Military Revolutionary Council, again dispatched Comrade Stalin to the front to organize victory. Comrade Stalin left for the Southern front, where he rapidly made himself acquainted with the situation, and in a letter to Lenin advanced his brilliant plan of crushing Denikin, proving that Trotsky's plan was fatal for the revolution. Referring to Trotsky's plan, Comrade Stalin wrote that this was "the most hard-headed factionalism, full of danger for the Republic. . . ."*

Comrade Stalin insisted that the main blow against Denikin be delivered not in the direction of Tsaritsin-Novorossisk, but against Rostov-on-Don, via Kharkov and the Donetz Basin.

"We must not dally with the adoption of this plan," wrote Stalin to Lenin.

That was exactly how Lenin estimated Stalin's plan.

"Comrade Stalin's plan," writes Comrade Voroshilov, "was adopted by the Central Committee. Lenin in his own handwriting sent an order to field headquarters immediately to change the old, out-of-date instructions." Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, Denikin was crushed.

Comrade Stalin spent the months of October and November, 1919, on the Southern front. As on previous occasions, he was in constant contact with Lenin, who saw to Stalin's demands being fulfilled in good time by the People's Commissariat of War.

In November, 1919, Comrade Stalin, on Lenin's initiative, was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner.

"At a time of fatal danger," read the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, "when the Soviet country, surrounded on all sides by a close ring of enemies, beat off the blows of the enemy, at a time when in July, 1919, the enemies of the workers' and peasants' revolution were approaching Red Petrograd, after having captured Krasnaya Gorka, it was at this hour, so full of difficulty for the Soviet government, that Joseph Vissarionovich Jugashvilli (Stalin) by his energy and tireless work was able to rally the wavering ranks of the Red Army.

"He was himself at the battle front, and under enemy fire by his personal example inspired the ranks of those who fought for the Soviet Republic."

In recognition of all the services of Comrade Stalin in the defense of Petrograd, and also of his further self-sacrificing work at the Southern front, the

* K. E. Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Red Army*, p. 29.

All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviets decided to award Comrade Stalin the Order of the Red Banner.

On November 19, 1919, Comrade Stalin signed the order for the formation of the First Cavalry Army. Three days later Lenin and Stalin were both present at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist organizations of peoples of the East.

Comrade Stalin opened this Congress on November 22, 1919, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Lenin delivered a report at the Congress on the current situation.

Addressing the Congress, Lenin said:

"You will have a big part to play in the revolutionary struggle, in the revolutionary movement, and to merge in this struggle with our struggle against international imperialism."*

". . . This Congress will succeed in continuing the work begun in awakening the peoples of the East, in strengthening the bonds of contact between West and East, and in the work of liberating the toiling masses from oppression, the age-old oppression of imperialism," emphasized Comrade Stalin.

One and the same mighty call to the numerous millions of the working people of the East sounded in the speeches of Lenin and Stalin.

In the brief interval between Comrade Stalin's work at the fronts, Lenin and Stalin discussed the question of reorganizing the system of state control into the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. On January 24, 1920, Lenin wrote a letter to Stalin in which he unfolded a grand program of action for the People's Commissariat of which Stalin was the head. This was a program of proletarian democracy designed to enlist all the working people into the management of state affairs.

"The aim: to draw *all* working people, men and *particularly women* to participate in the work of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection," * wrote Vladimir Ilyich.

On February 7 the "Regulations Governing the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" were adopted.

In February, 1920, Comrade Stalin was at the Southern front again. Lenin and Stalin were in constant contact with one another. Comrade Stalin kept Lenin informed of the measures he was carrying out. Lenin approved of these measures.

The position at the front continued to cause alarm. The record of the telegraphic conversation between Comrades Lenin and Stalin brings back to us the moving story of those days.

"The situation on the Caucasian front is assuming a more and more serious character," Lenin informed Stalin on February 20. "I expect that in evaluating the general situation you will develop all your energy and achieve serious results."

Comrade Stalin's reply was as usual very brief: "You may rest assured that everything possible will be done."

"Everything possible" was done: the last resistance of Denikin's troops was broken.

In these months of severe fighting Comrade Stalin only rarely left the battlefields of the Civil War, and that for short flying visits to Moscow. One of these visits coincided with a meeting in the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party to celebrate Lenin's fiftieth birthday. At this meeting, Comrade Stalin delivered a splendid speech on Lenin in which he gave a most profound analysis of Bolshevism and brought out Lenin's role as organizer and leader of the Communist Party.

In the summer of 1920 Comrade Stalin organized victory over the White Guard Poles on the Southwestern front.

"The defeat of the Polish armies, the liberation of Kiev and the Ukraine territory on the right bank of the Dnieper, our penetration into the heart of Galicia, the organization of the famous raid by the First Cavalry Army—the work of

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 549, Russian ed.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 387, Russian ed.

Comrade Stalin—were to a considerable degree the results of his capable and skilled leadership," wrote Comrade Voroshilov.

Within a short time Comrade Stalin again left for the Southern front.

The correspondence between Lenin and Comrade Stalin in these eventful days was not limited to military questions. In preparation for the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin sent the original draft of the thesis of his report on the national and colonial questions to Comrade Stalin, who was on the Southern front. On June 12, Comrade Stalin sent Lenin his remarks on the thesis. In going over the proofs of the theses prior to sending them to press, Lenin added Comrade Stalin's remarks.

A new danger hung over the country in the shape of the advancing armies of General Wrangel, supported by the Entente. "The White Army, the black baron, are again preparing a tsar's throne for us," so ran the song of those days.

On June 25 Comrade Stalin informed Lenin by wire (the telegram was marked "For Lenin only") of the testimony given by a prisoner, one of Wrangel's generals, about the aid received by Wrangel from Britain and France.

On July 2, Comrade Stalin wired Lenin about the plans of the intervention against the Soviet Republic. Taking into account the serious nature of the situation (during July Wrangel had occupied Northern Tavria and was approaching Zaporozhiye), Lenin entrusted Comrade Stalin with the organization of the defeat of Wrangel. Comrade Stalin's proposals met with Lenin's full approval. On July 17, 1920, Lenin wired the following message to Comrade Stalin:

"The plenum of the Central Committee of the Party has accepted your proposals almost in their entirety. You will receive the full text. Do not fail to inform me in detail once a week regarding the development of military operations and of the general state of affairs."

On August 2, 1920, Lenin secured the agreement of the Central Committee to a decision according to which the Wrangel front, one of "tremendous, fully independent significance," was made into an independent front, while Comrade Stalin was given the task of "organizing a Revolutionary Military Council, of completely concentrating his efforts on the Wrangel front."

After a meeting of the Political Bureau, Lenin wrote to Comrade Stalin:

"The Political Bureau has just decided to divide the fronts so that you may devote your attention exclusively to the struggle against Wrangel. . . ."

Lenin sought the advice of Comrade Stalin on the major questions of defense and foreign policy.

"How is the struggle against the bandits progressing?" asked Lenin of Comrade Stalin in a telegram dated September 13, 1920. "Are the reinforcements being dispatched to the Caucasian front sufficient? Do you think it possible to regulate relations with Georgia and Armenia by peaceful means, and on what basis? Then, is sufficient serious work actually being undertaken to fortify the approaches to Baku? Also, please send me news about Turkey and Persia, briefly by wire, and in greater detail by letter."

* * *

The Civil War was over. The White Guard armies and the armies of intervention were crushed. Lenin and Stalin directed the transition of the country to the New Economic Policy, smashing the resistance of the enemies of the Party—Trotsky, Bukharin, Shliapnikov, the "Detsists"—and directing the gigantic work of construction in the country.

It will suffice to recall the main speeches delivered by Lenin during the period of the "trade union discussion" and Comrade Stalin's article "Our Differences," in order to see the striking unity of Lenin and Stalin in the struggle for the Party, for the proletarian dictatorship, against Trotskyism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. In this article Comrade Stalin showed that Trotsky was fighting against the development of the initiative, understanding and independent activity of the working class. Comrade

Stalin exposed the base speculations of Trotsky designed to camouflage his attempt to split the working class and sow lack of confidence in the Soviet government.

Together with Stalin, Lenin solved the practical problems that confronted the proletarian state, and sought his counsel not only on questions of major political importance but also on current questions.

On May 22, 1921, Comrade Lenin at the end of a letter to Comrade Sergo Orjonikidze on the tactics of Communists in Georgia, added the following postscript: "To Stalin: Please send this off, and if you have objections, 'phone me."*

Lenin advanced the historical plan of electrification, "that great program" as he formulated it himself in one of his letters. Comrade Stalin sent Lenin a remarkable letter on this plan proposing "immediately to *get down to practical business*" and ruthlessly criticizing Trotsky and Rykov for their opposition to a single state economic plan.

Lenin and Stalin jointly elaborated the plan for the establishment of a Transcaucasian Federation. On November 28, 1921, Lenin sent Comrade Stalin the draft of his proposal to establish a Transcaucasian Federation.

In his reply to Lenin, Comrade Stalin expressed full agreement with this draft and proposed an amendment on the question of time limits. Lenin accepted this amendment of Comrade Stalin.

Lenin and Stalin jointly defended the Transcaucasian Federation against those myrmidons of Trotsky, the Georgian national-deviationists.

A little later, in a letter to Comrade Orjonikidze in which he raised the question of strengthening the Georgian Red Army, Lenin wrote:

". . . Stalin will perhaps deal in more detail with the military and technical ways of accomplishing this. I limit myself to the political aspect of the question. . . ."

Comrade Stalin added the following to this letter of Lenin:

"I have nothing to add to what Comrade Lenin has stated. Sergo and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, I think, will understand all the need for the measures proposed by Comrade Lenin."*

Lenin's numerous notes written between July and December, 1921, when Comrade Stalin fell sick several times, speak of Lenin's exceptional concern for Comrade Stalin. These brief notes of Lenin are on display in the Central Lenin Museum, and hundreds of working people always stand near them reading the words written in Vladimir Ilyich's handwriting. On July 17, 1921, Lenin wired to Comrade Orjonikidze: "First of all, please let me know about Comrade Stalin's health and the conclusion of the doctors in this regard. . . ."** Only then does Lenin deal with business matters.

A week later Lenin again asks Comrade Orjonikidze by wire: "Give me the name and address of the doctor treating Stalin, and tell me how long Stalin has been sick."***

In a note to his secretary, Lenin asked to be reminded that he must see Stalin, and before this Lenin emphasized in this note he must speak to Stalin's doctor over the telephone.

When Comrade Stalin was in the hospital Lenin called up the doctor twice a day, in the morning and in the evening, and demanded the most thorough and detailed report about Comrade Stalin's health. Lenin told Stalin's doctor: "If anything happens, call me up at any time of the day or night." After Comrade Stalin's recovery, Lenin saw to it that Comrade Stalin was given an opportunity of resting and recuperating in quiet.

Lenin attached tremendous importance to the work of Comrade Stalin in the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. In a letter to Comrade Stalin dated March 21, 1922, Lenin developed the idea of utilizing the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to check

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* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p, 189, Russian ed.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 167, 517-518, Russian ed.

** Lenin, *Miscellany*, Vol. XX, p. 74.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 263.

up on the fulfillment of decisions, "a check on the lower units of the People's Commissariats"* so that the results of the work in this sphere are concentrated both in the Council of People's Commissars and personally with Comrade Stalin, the People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

"What can we do now," said Lenin, ". . . in order to get our bearings in all these Turkestan, Caucasian and other questions? All of these are political questions! And these questions must be solved; for they are questions that have puzzled European states for centuries and have been solved only to an insignificant degree in democratic republics. We are solving them, and we need somebody whom any of the representatives of these nations may be able to approach and with whom to discuss in detail their affairs. Where is such a person to be found?

"The same holds true of the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. It is a gigantic task. But in order to be able to deal with the verification of the fulfillment of decisions, what is needed is somebody with authority at the head of this Commissariat, otherwise we will get stuck, entangled in all sorts of petty intrigue." **

As is known, on Lenin's proposal Comrade Stalin was elected to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party at the First Plenum of the Central Committee following the Eleventh Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Lenin, during his illness, maintained constant contact with Comrade Stalin. He gave him the most important instructions and commissions for the Central Committee of the Party, and together with him at Gorky discussed all the problems that occupied his mind. The photographs showing Lenin and Stalin together in the park at Gorky are an everlasting record of these historical meetings.

On May 20, 1922, Lenin dictated a letter at Gorky to Comrade Stalin for the Political Bureau on "Dual Subordination and the Law," a letter that sounds so clear and real today in the epoch of the Stalin Constitution.

In this letter Lenin unfolded a program of measures designed to introduce uniform law for the whole Federation of Soviet Republics: "The law must be uniform," wrote Lenin in opposing the "dual subordination" of the local units of the public prosecutor's office to the local and central authorities. Lenin's proposals were accepted by the Political Bureau.

After his health had improved somewhat, Lenin on August 5 commissioned Comrade Stalin to transmit in reply to the message of greetings of the All-Russian Party Conference his gratitude to it and his hope that in the near future he would again be able to return to work.

In his notes published in September, 1922, Comrade Stalin told of two meetings he had had with Lenin at Gorky, at the end of July and in the latter days of August.

"The Socialist Party trial, the conferences at Genoa and the Hague, the prospects facing the harvest, industry and finance—all these questions followed one after the other," said Comrade Stalin in recalling the subjects of his conversation with Lenin during his first meeting there.

"The situation at home, the harvest, the position of industry, the rate of exchange of the ruble, the budget, the international situation, the Entente, the behavior of France, Britain and Germany, the role of America, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, their furious agitation against Soviet Russia. . . ."

Such were the topics Lenin and Stalin dealt with during their second meeting at Gorky.

On October 2, 1922, Lenin, who had returned from Gorky to Moscow, immediately resumed his intensive work that had been cut short by his illness, and, as always, worked hand in hand with Comrade Stalin. Within four days after his return, Lenin and Comrade Stalin wrote the following message to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party:

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 329, Russian ed.
** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, p. 299, Russian ed.

"I declare war to the death on Great-Russian chauvinism, and as soon as I get rid of this damned tooth, I'll polish off this chauvinism with all my healthy teeth.

"We must *absolutely* insist that in the All-Union Central Executive Committee the chair should be taken in turns by a Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, etc.

"Absolutely!

"Yours, Lenin.

"Correct, J. Stalin."*

On December 10, 1922, Lenin sent a telegram of greetings to the Seventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets meeting at Kharkov. The contents of this brief telegram show the problems that occupied Lenin's mind during those days.

"One of the most important questions to be solved by your Congress," reads this wire, "is the question of the unification of the republics."**

The Union of Soviet Republics—this was what Lenin, then already overcome by sickness, was thinking about. All the preparatory work for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was conducted by Comrade Stalin. Lenin's idea of uniting the republics ran like a red thread through the reports of Comrade Stalin, "About the Unification of the Soviet Republics" at the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and at the First All-Union Congress of Soviets held in December, 1922.

Soon after this, Lenin's health took a new turn for the worse, and on December 13, during his last visit to Moscow, he dictated a letter to Comrade Stalin for the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party regarding the foreign trade monopoly, in which he exposed the capitulatory position taken by Bukharin.***

On December 15, Vladimir Ilyich, on the eve of the second attack of his illness, wrote a letter to Comrade Stalin which began with the following touching words: "I have now finished winding up my affairs and can quietly go away. . . ."*

Thus it was, to the very last days of Lenin's life, and over a period of almost twenty-five years, that the life and struggle of Lenin were interwoven with the life and struggle of his comrade-in-arms, Comrade Stalin, the great perpetuator of Lenin's cause.

* * *

"Stalin—is Lenin today" was the simple, splendid way Henri Barbusse expressed it. These words are repeated by the peoples of the entire world.

The best comrade-in-arms of Lenin, the brilliant perpetuator of his cause, Comrade Stalin, teaches the Party, the Soviet people, and all working people to follow the path of Lenin and to fulfill his behests. Stalin's vow made over Lenin's grave has become the vow of millions, the solemn pledge of loyalty to Lenin's banner.

The teachings of Lenin are outlined and developed by Comrade Stalin in his splendid work *Problems of Leninism* and in all his other writings. There is no speech of Comrade Stalin where he does not remind us again and again of the great Lenin.

"Remember, love and study Ilyich, our teacher, our leader," said Comrade Stalin to the working people. ". . . Have before you this great image of the great Lenin, and follow Lenin in everything."

"To be like the great Lenin," such is the call of the leader of the peoples who has defended Leninism in the struggle against all enemies and has brought the Soviet Union to the victory of socialism.

Lenin and Stalin. . . . These names are forever merged in the minds and hearts of the working people.

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* *Pravda*, January 21, 1937.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, p. 378, Russian ed.

*** *Ibid.*, pp. 379, 559.

* *Ibid.*, p. 559.

Georgi Dimitroff's "The United Front" *

BY FRANZ LANG

ALMOST never before did the international revolutionary movement face so complicated problems as in the last few years. In Germany bloody, barbarous fascism has been raging for the past five years. United into a war triangle together with Italian fascism and the feudal-fascist Japanese military camarilla, supported by the abominable murder gang of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agency of fascism, encouraged by the continual retreat and eternal yielding of cowardly democrats and certain reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, Hitler fascism is planning to unleash a new bloody slaughter of the peoples. For the past two years the German-Italian hordes of invaders have been spreading death and destruction in Spain. Hitler's troops have harnessed the people of Austria under the yoke of fascist barbarism in spite of its passionate desire to maintain its independence. The totalitarian fascist warmongers are lying in wait at the borders of Czechoslovakia. War is raging in China.

Uneasy, millions upon millions in the fascist countries ask themselves how the fascist beast can be tamed, world peace saved, and the fascist plague cleared from the face of the earth.

It is to be welcomed that the speeches and articles of Comrade Dimitroff have just been collected and published in a single volume. This volume, which opens with Comrade Dimitroff's well-known speeches at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, also includes articles on problems of the united front and the People's Front, on Spain and China, the international proletariat's army and foreign policy, and the "legal system" of the fascist gangsters, and concludes with the noted article, "The Soviet Union and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries," on the twentieth anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution. The most burning questions of the day are treated in this volume.

Proceeding from the fact that one must know the sworn enemy of all progressive humanity, fascism, "accurately and from all sides" in order to be able to deal it decisive blows, Comrade Dimitroff subjects fascism to a fundamental analysis, especially in his speeches at the World Congress. Supported by the unconquerable doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, Comrade Dimitroff paints a picture of fascism which is diametrically opposed to the glowing colors in which it has been variously portrayed.

"Fascism," says Comrade Dimitroff, "is not a form of state power 'standing above both classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,' as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not 'the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state,' as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not super-class government nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpenproletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, International Publishers, New York.

class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its crudest form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations." (P. 11.)

Only this keenly drawn Marxist-Leninist characterization of fascism and the description of its crude demagogy make it possible to answer the question of how fascism was able to win and whether its victory is inevitable. Dimitroff demonstrates that fascism was able to come to power:

". . . primarily because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed*, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie." (P. 19.)

Secondly, fascism triumphed: "for the reason that the proletariat found itself isolated from its natural allies." (P. 22.)

It triumphed: "for the reason that it was able to penetrate the ranks of the *youth*, whereas the Social-Democrats diverted the working class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary proletariat . . . did not pay enough attention" to the youth. (Pp. 22-23.)

Exposing this class character of fascism and the underlying basis of its temporary victory, and demonstrating the contradictions in which it is involved, Comrade Dimitroff comes to the conclusion that is so important for the struggle of the international proletariat and all toilers, which he formulates in the pellucid phrase: "Fascism—a ferocious but unstable power." (P. 26.)

To be sure, this should not be understood to mean that one must wait fatalistically for its collapse, but rather in the sense of continuous, active, tenacious, universal, and day-by-day *struggle*, the day-by-day mobilization of the masses. Fascism can, must, and *will* be defeated. But for this it is necessary to overcome the split of the working class effected by Social-Democratism to the advantage of the big bourgeoisie and the warmongers, to forge the united front, not to allow the proletariat to be isolated from its "natural allies," to establish the anti-fascist People's Front, and not to capitulate to fascism, but to oppose active, united mass resistance to it.

On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation and the experiences of the international labor movement, and proceeding from the principles of the great doctrine of Lenin and Stalin, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International effected a reorientation of its policy and tactics.

In his concluding speech Comrade Dimitroff said that:

"We want our parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act as *real political parties of the working class* . . . to pursue at all times *an active Bolshevik mass policy and not confine themselves to propaganda and criticism*. . . .

"*We are enemies of all cut-and-dried schemes.* We want to take into account the concrete situation at each moment, in each place, and not act *according to a fixed, stereotyped form* anywhere and everywhere. . . .

"We want to find a *common language* with the broadest masses for the purpose of struggling against the class enemy. . . .

"Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine the *revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists with *genuine revolutionary realism*, and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions. . . .

"We want them (the Communists of each country) *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather." (Pp. 91-93.)

The events that followed the Seventh World Congress: the establishment and consolidation of the united front and the People's Front in France, which barred the way to fascism; the heroic struggle of the Spanish people; the growing strength of the anti-Japanese national united front in China; the growing urge

of the masses of workers toward unity; and the increasing differentiation in the camp of Social-Democracy indicate the correctness of the Communist International's reorientation. Following upon the events outlined above there arose a number of new problems of struggle, to which the articles in the volume that followed the World Congress are devoted.

The course set for concentration of the struggle against the main enemy, fascism and the fascist warmongers, demanded of the Communists a clear answer to the question of what stand the international working class was to take on the problems of foreign policy and the army.

The article "The Struggle for Peace," states that:

"The time has gone by when the working class did not participate *independently and actively* in deciding such vital questions as war and peace. The difference between Communists and reformists, between revolutionary and reactionary leaders of the working class movement, is not at all that the latter participate in deciding these questions while we revolutionaries remain aloof. No! The difference is that on these questions, as on other questions, reformists defend the interests of the capitalists, while revolutionaries defend the interests of working people, the interests of the people as a whole." (P. 179.)

Comrade Dimitroff has scorn and irony for those "Left" phrasemongers who want to place the fascist aggressor and the state attacked or threatened by him on the same plane. These phrasemongers, who dare to cite Lenin, are answered by Dimitroff as follows.

"But now the situation is different [that is, than in 1914—*F.L.*]. Now we have (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present moment in the maintenance of peace. It is, therefore, completely wrong now to depict *all* countries as aggressors. Only people who are trying to conceal the real aggressors could so distort the facts." (Pp. 179-180.)

Japan's attack on China, the occupation of Austria, and the acute threat to Czechoslovakia prove how right Comrade Dimitroff was in this characterization made in *May, 1936.*

A number of articles are devoted to the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. With the power and passion of a revolutionary fighter steeled in the school of Lenin and Stalin, Comrade Dimitroff brands the fascist crimes, denounces the policy of "non-intervention" in Spanish affairs which favors the intervening fascist powers, and calls again and again for the unity of action of the international working class, all toilers, and friends of peace. He recalls Comrade Stalin's splendid words;

"The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of Spaniards, but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." (P. 218.)

Comrade Dimitroff systematically and stubbornly wages the struggle for the unity of the working class and all toilers to aid Spain. We read these sections of the book with profound emotion, as well as the Comintern's telegrams to the Second International, published in the book, for joint aid to Spain, which were rejected time and again, upon meaningless pretexts, unfortunately.

The whole book breathes the spirit of the deepest bonds with the land of socialism and peace, the Soviet Union. The whole work is permeated with the idea that the international proletariat must forge the closest bonds of unity with the free working class of the Soviet Union and that only the road of the party of Lenin and Stalin leads the proletariat to victory.

"The Red Flag of the proletarian revolution," Comrade Dimitroff states in his speech to the delegation of foreign workers, "waves victoriously over one-sixth of the earth. Over one-sixth of the globe

workers and peasants, and not capitalists and landlords, are in power. . . .

"You saw on the Red Square on May First the powerful armed forces of the Soviet Union—our glorious Red Army—the strength of the working class, the strength of the land of the Soviets . . . but also the strength of the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world." (P. 142.)

And to the cheers of the delegates Comrade Dimitroff proclaims: "to follow the example of the great Lenin and the great Stalin means salvation to the world proletariat." (P. 143.)

Comrade Dimitroff's words rained down like blows upon the filthy and bloodstained Trotskyites and Bukharinites, who dare to raise their paws against the flourishing land of socialism and the leaders of the Party and the government. And Dimitroff shows how closely the whole struggle of the international proletariat and of all sincere adherents of peace is bound up with the struggle against these agents of the Gestapo, these spies and murderers, "this dirty crowd."

The volume closes with the article on the twentieth anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution, in which Dimitroff points out the three most important fundamental lessons for the international proletariat:

"Irrefutable facts clearly testify to the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, not only in the sphere of economics, but also in the sphere of everyday life and culture, science and art, in the sphere of the relations among the peoples." (P. 272.)

Summarizing the developments of twenty years in the Soviet Union and in the countries of capitalism, Dimitroff shows how:

"Instead of the promised peaceful, painless transition to socialism, Social-Democratism, by its entire capitulatory and splitting policy cleared the way for the victory to fascism.

"*Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Turati and D'Aragona* in Italy the victory *of the fascism of Mussolini* would not have been possible. *Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Ebert and Noske* in Germany the victory of the fascism of Hitler would not have been possible. *Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Renner and Bauer* in Austria the victory of the fascism of Schuschnigg [which has yielded to the fascism of Hitler in the interim—*F.L.*] would not have been possible." (P. 275.)

Dimitroff sets forth the differentiation taking place within the Social-Democratic Parties, shows that the working class of the capitalist countries is "closely approaching the liquidation of the split in the world working class movement," points out what a tremendous factor the existence of the land of socialism is, and comes to the conclusion:

"In the present international situation there is not, nor can there be any other, more certain criterion, than one's attitude toward the Soviet Union, in determining who is the friend and who the enemy of the cause of the working class and socialism, of determining who is a supporter and who an opponent of democracy and peace. . . .

"The historical dividing line between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the attitude toward the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude toward Soviet power and socialism in general, but the attitude to the Soviet Union, which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin." (Pp. 279-280.)

The book of the General Secretary of the Communist International belongs in the hands of every fighter for the cause of the working class, for freedom, and for communism. It is a compass with which to find one's way in the labyrinths and complications of the present time. It is a sharp weapon in the struggle for the unity of the working class, in the struggle against fascism, war and reaction.

A Declaration by Premier Negrin

THE government of national union, which possesses the confidence of all parties and trade union organizations in republican Spain and represents all those Spanish citizens who conform to constitutional legality, solemnly declares to its fellow-countrymen and to the world that its war aims are as follows:

1. To ensure the absolute independence and complete integrity of Spain; to ensure a Spain entirely free from all foreign interference, whatever its character and origin; to ensure all Spanish territory on the peninsula, the islands, and its colonial possessions against any attempt at dismemberment, seizure, or alienation; to maintain the protectorate zones assigned to Spain by international agreements so long as these latter are not modified with Spain's participation and assent.

Conscious of its traditional obligations and customs and of its history, Spain will bind more closely the ties that bind it to the other countries of the Spanish tongue, ties imposed by common origin and the sense of world bonds which the Spanish people has always had.

2. To liberate our territory from the foreign military forces that have invaded Spain, as well as from the elements that have come to Spain after July, 1936, under the pretext of technical collaboration and are endeavoring to obtain domination over the economic and legal life of Spain for their own good.

3. The people's republic, which is a vigorous state, is founded upon the principles of pure democracy and acts through a government which is equipped with the full authority lent it by the citizens' vote on the basis of universal suffrage. It is the embodiment of a firm executive power, which is always dependent upon the guiding lines and aims set by the Spanish people.

4. The legal and social structure of the republic shall be the work of the nation's will, freely expressed in a plebiscite to be held as soon as the fighting is over, a plebiscite that will take place with the fullest guarantees, without restrictions or limitations, and will protect every participant against any sort of reprisals.

5. To respect the national liberties of regions without prejudice to the unity of Spain. To protect and develop the essential nature and the individuality of the various peoples inhabiting Spain, as fixed by law and historical facts, which will by no means result in dismemberment, but in a closer union of all the elements in the nation.

6. The state guarantees the citizen the full enjoyment of his rights in civil and social life, freedom of conscience, and the free exercise of his belief and religious practices.

7. The Spanish state guarantees property lawfully acquired, within the limits imposed by the supreme interests of the nation and the protection of productive elements. Without limiting individual initiative it will prevent the accumulation of wealth from leading to the exploitation of the citizen, the undermining of collectivity, and interference with the state's control in economic and social life. To this end it will promote the development of small properties, guarantee family property, and promote every measure leading to an improvement of the economy, the standard of living, and the health of the producing classes.

The property and the legitimate inter-

ests of foreigners who have not aided the rebellion will be respected, and the damages involuntarily caused in the course of the war will be investigated with a view to indemnity for damage. The government of the republic has already established a commission for foreign affairs to study these damages.

8. Thoroughgoing agrarian reform to abolish the old aristocratic, semi-feudal system of ownership, which is lacking in human, national, and patriotic feeling and which has always been an obstacle to the development of the country's great potentialities. The establishment of a new Spain, based on a broad and solid democracy of farmers owning the land they cultivate.

9. The state guarantees the rights of the workers by means of progressive social legislation corresponding to the specific necessities of Spanish life and economy.

10. One of the principal and fundamental objects of the state shall be the cultural, physical, and moral improvement of the people.

11. The Spanish army, at the service of the people, shall be free from any domination by a tendency or a party; the people shall consider it the reliable instrument for the defense of its liberties and its independence.

12. The Spanish state reaffirms its constitutional doctrine of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. Spain, loyal to treaties and agreements, will support the policy represented by the League of Nations and will continue to be guided by it. Spain insists upon the rights of its state, reaffirms them, and, as a Mediterranean power, demands a place and a vote in the concert of nations, always ready to collaborate in the consolidation of collective security and the defense of world peace.

It will develop and strengthen its defense potentialities in order to contribute to this policy effectively.

13. Far-reaching amnesty for all Spaniards who are willing to cooperate in the tremendous job of reconstructing Spain and making it flourish. After a struggle as cruel as the one now drowning our country in blood, in which the Spanish people's old virtues of courage and idealism have been reborn, it would be a crime against the fate of our homeland not to repress every thought of revenge or reprisal, in order to make the sacrifices and to do the work to which all the sons of Spain are obligated for the future of Spain.

On the Principles of the Republican Program

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

THE Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain has discussed the thirteen points of the government's programmatic document and expresses its agreement with them.

This document corresponds to the character of the Spanish people's struggle for the defense of Spain and of republican democracy, and comprises the basis upon which all the anti-fascist forces of our country must unite at this time.

We welcome the publication of this statement and propose that all our comrades, all the front-line fighters, and the whole anti-fascist people continue at work for a democratic Spain, in which the people fully enjoys the rights always denied it formerly, and to continue the realization of its demands for freedom, peace, justice and social progress

(*Signed*) THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

May 11, 1938 (*Frente Rojo*).

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